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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-94-158 *16 August 1994*

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Court Drops Treason Charges Against Greeks

AU1508154294 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Tirana, Aug 15 (AFP)—Treason charges were dropped Monday [15 August] against five members of Albania's Greek minority accused of plotting anti-Albanian activities, as their trial opened here amid mounting reprisal threats from Greece.

The defendants, leaders of Omonia, a Greek minority organization, were arrested April 18 following a deadly attack on an Albanian barracks which Tirana blames on a Greek commando. The five had been charged with high treason, expansionist aims and liaising with Greek secret services.

But when the trial opened Monday prosecutor Genz Gjukaj ordered the treason charge be dropped as it had been served on the basis of the country's Stalinist-era penal code "which does not correspond with the democratic changes that have taken place in Albania."

Analysts said the move was intended to appease the increasingly irate reaction of Greece to the trial. Athens has dismissed the case as a farce and threatened reprisal sanctions and wholescale expulsions of Albanians from Greece.

But tensions remained high after Greece said Albanian authorities detained for questioning around 20 Greek journalists and lawyers after incidents outside the courtroom prior to the trial opening. Athens issued a formal protest at the "unacceptable" detentions, while the Tirana Public Order Ministry said all those questioned had been released.

Gjukaj said Monday that the five—Constantin Qiriaku, Theodori Bezhani, Vangjiel Papchristo, Panajot Marto and Iracli Sirmo—had "given" information to the Greek secret services, and used funds and possessed weapons illegally. But he added that their involvement in the "criminal annexationist activities" by Greek institutions targeting southern Albania had "remained at the level of attempts" rather than actions.

The trial was adjourned until Tuesday after the revised charges—which carry sentences of between 10 years in prison and the death penalty—were read out. [passage omitted]

Arrests Reported at Trial

NC1508125694 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1130 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Developments in Tirana are acquiring a dramatic scope and the climate is dangerously charged. According to reports, Albanian police attacked and beat a cameramen and correspondents who were outside the court waiting for permission to cover the trial [of Greek minority members]. According to reports, this provocative attack by the Albanian police was made to prevent foreign television from showing an incident shortly before the opening of the trial, when Albanian policemen attacked and insulted members of the Greek Chamber of Deputies interparty delegation and members of Omonoia [Greek minority organization]. It is typical of what took place outside the court today that the Albanian police arrested television correspondents, cameramen, and technicians, who will reportedly be released, however, following intervention by the Greek Embassy in Tirana. Our Tirana special correspondent Nikolaos Meletis sent the following report a short time ago:

[Begin Meletis recording] The Berisha regime has gone beyond all limits. Today, shortly before the opening of the trial, Albanian police attacked correspondents and two lawyers and, beating them indiscriminately, arrested all the television crews and lawyers representing bar associations of Greece. The situation has been tense since this morning when, as the defendants were entering the court, the police insulted even the members of the Greek Chamber of Deputies delegation. Nobody has thus far been allowed to see the approximately 16 lawyers and correspondents detained at Tirana's Second Police Precinct.

The serious incidents began when Omonoia Chairman Sotirios Kiriazatis and Omonoia Deputy Makariadhis made statements outside the court. People raised two placards with the slogans freedom and human rights. The Albanian police immediately rushed brutally at those who were gathered and arrested all those in front of the court building. The television crews and lawyers are now being detained and it appears that one the police goals was to confiscate the videocassettes on which the morning's incidents were recorded. At this time, the Foreign Ministry and the Greek Embassy in Tirana are attempting to gain the immediate release of those detained. [end recording]

According to later reports from Tirana, when the court trying the five leading Omonoia members resumed its hearing after a one-hour recess, the prosecutor read the indictment. However, the prosecutor's assistant intervened and asked that the charge of high treason leveled against the five Greek minority members be dropped. Following this, the court adjourned until tomorrow morning.

Greek Government Demarche

NC1508133094 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1200 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Assumption Day and Armed Forces Day are being observed today. However, there are rapid developments in Albania, where incidents occurred and arrests were made shortly before the trial of the five Greek minority members. A short time ago, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou had a telephone conversation with Miltiadhis Evert and Andonios Samaras.

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Our ambassador in Tirana lodged a strict verbal demarche protesting the arrests and demanding the immediate release of those who were detained. At this time, Ambassador Angelakis, who is in charge of Albanian affairs at the Foreign Ministry, summoned the Albanian ambassador in Athens to reiterate the demarche and arrange to dispatch a helicopter to transport the injured to Greece.

According to the latest reports, Tirana has begun releasing the detainees, but only the release of Loukas Papafilippou, chairman of the Cyprus Bar Association, is confirmed. [passage omitted]

Journalists Released

NC1508134294 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1215 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] We return to the Albanian issue to announce that we have just confirmed the report that a short time ago the Albanian authorities released all those who were arrested this morning.

Trial Continues 16 Aug

NC1608130794 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1130 GMT 16 Aug 94

[Text] The trial of five of our compatriots, members of Omonoia [Greek-Albanian minority organization], continues today in Tirana in a very tense atmosphere. The defendants now face only one of the charges brought against them by the Berisha regime, because the court finally withdrew the charge of high treason.

In the meantime, there is strong reaction to the violent incidents caused by the Albanian police yesterday, including beating and arresting Greek observers and journalists outside the court. Theodhoros Aspasidhis, deputy president of the Thessaloniki Municipal Council, is being treated at Thessaloniki Ippokration Hospital for a serious concussion after being beaten by Albanian police.

Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias stressed that this savageness exposes Tirana in the eyes of the international community, noted that this exceeds all limits, and said everyone should act responsibly. In a message to the UN Security Council and EU, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou warned that this Albanian provocation can not remain unanswered and that Greece is obliged to take all necessary measures.

Reports from Tirana today say the highlights of the trial of the five Omonoia members include continuous interruptions of court proceedings, the refusal of the Albanian authorities to allow lawyers Takis Papas and Alexandros Likourezos to appear in the courtroom, and the violent removal of journalists and television crews from the courtroom. It should be noted that everyone is being closely followed by the Albanian police. It was learned just a short while ago that the president of the Albanian court where the farcical trial is taking place has called on the defendants to answer the charges before the examination of witnesses even begins. This constitutes a violation of the internationally accepted judicial regulations.

In the meantime, the measures to be taken in response to the Albanian provocations were examined during a meeting today in Ioannina at the headquarters of the 8th Division. Foreign Minister Papoulias chaired the meeting. Our correspondent in Ioannina Yeoryios Kirousis reports that before the meeting Deputy National Defense Minister Nikolaos Kouris said that the measures that will be taken against Albania following the events in Tirana will be in the political and economic spheres and in the context of international law. The meeting was also attended by Deputy Public Order Minister Iosif Valirakis, the chiefs of the Greek Police and National Intelligence Service, and the leadership of the Armed Forces and police in Epirus.

Police Disperse Tirana Hunger Strikers

AU1608101194 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 13 Aug 94 p 2

[Report by Blendi Fevziu: "Police Attack Hunger Strikers"]

[Text] "We had decided to resist any police intervention, but when we woke up, the police stood above our heads with helmets, shields, and rubber truncheons. The entire building [headquarters of the Association of Former Political Prisoners and Victims of Persecution] was full. The presidium had opened the door to them. We were betrayed." This is what one of the strikers remarked on his own end to the strike at about 0300 [0100 GMT] on 12 August, while police and rapid deployment forces controlled all the streets around the strikers' headquarters.

"The operation began immediately after 0200. The area had been patrolled all evening by ShIK [National Intelligence Service] plain-clothes agents, while a large number of cars in front of the Public Order Ministry waited for the signal. The forces involved in the operation arrived from the street of the former Palace of Pioneers, while two IFA trucks, about 20 minibuses, and a much larger number of cars parked themselves in front of the parliament. Other police cars were parked in Skenderbeg Square and Sulejman Pasha square, by the nine-storey apartment blocks. The ring road behind the headquarters and the roads on both sides were blocked. Other forces seized the park by the Central Army House and surrounded the square planned for the construction of the Namazgjaja mosque. Kurt Kola explains that "the police knocked on the door and demanded to make a search for weapons. We opened up, and dozens of heavily armed police and plain-clothes men surged in. They gave us two minutes to get out. Any resistance was in vain. We thought that no striker must be hurt, and advised them to leave. They went out themselves. I

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remained in the office to sign the documentation. All the doors were broken down apart from that of the treasurer's office, and police forces remained in every room. After completing the documentation, I left my office, leaving only Azem Hajdari, who was continuing his hunger strike. He has immunity, and could not be touched."

Kurt Kola was the last striker to leave the association's headquarters. The others had dispersed or had regrouped either in the park in front of the Democratic Party [PD] offices or at the foot of Elbasan Street, awaiting reorganization. "We had no weapons," one of them emphasized, "but even if we had possessed them, we would not have used them. We are against violence, because nobody knows violence better or hates it more than we do. I was 25 years in prison and am now unemployed. My wife and two daughters are also out of work. If I had not died in the hunger strike, I would have died of starvation at home. Better that way. It was awful to see former fellow inmates from prison directing the operation against us from Public Order Ministry cars."

The group of strikers set off down Jean d'Arc Street in an easterly direction. Exhausted, unshaven, and with filthy blankets, they more than ever in recent years resembled the former prisoners who were released from the prisons of the communist dictatorship at the beginning of 1991.

By 0330, the area had been cleared. In the vicinity of the operation, the only movements were those of fast police cars and a large number of riot police [sambiste] dressed as ordinary citizens, in the same old-fashioned clothes and with the same heavy northern dialect. The police would not give the name of the operation's director, but he was in all probability to be found in the building of the Public Order Ministry. One of them confirmed merely that forces from the districts took part in the operation, as was confirmed by the many cars without license plates that passed through all the police cordons between the Association and the ministry. Anonymous sources within the police confirmed that violence was used only against women who did not agree to leave, but that none of these were injured.

At 0400, the forces departed in three directions, cleansing the area of curious bystanders, remaining strikers, and journalists. The headquarters remained under the guard of police forces of the First Commissariat.

At 0630, the final and at the same time the most recent striker, Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Defense, Public Order, and the ShIK; former PD chairman and deputy chairman; and leader of the December movement, left or was extracted from the building. Nobody at the time was able to say whether Hajdari left under duress, but he was not carrying the radio he normally uses.

By 0700, the building was empty, and the population learned of the events of the previous few hours from the BBC morning broadcast.

'Savage Battle' in Shkoder

AU1608103294 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 13 Aug 94 p 3

[Report by Gjergj Zefi: "Police Attack Hunger Strikers"]

[Text] In contrast to other days, the eighth day of the hunger strike of the former victims of political persecution in Shkoder dawned in an atmosphere of extreme tension, caused by a justified alarm among the strikers and their supporters.

After the scandalous statements concocted in the antique kitchens of Albanian politics and the outrage to the dignity of this long-suffering section of the populace, the Albanian State savagely bared its teeth.

Special forces from Lezhe and Tirana equipped with shields and helmets attacked the building where the strikers were holed up, but, thanks to the indomitable spirit of their supporters who stood by each other strongly, they were repulsed before they could forcibly extract the victims of the political systems from their headquarters. For several hours on end, a savage battle with stones and other solid objects took place between the opposing sides. The conflict, which began at 0330 [0130 GMT 12 August], lasted until full daylight at 0530. Yesterday at dawn, police forces surrounded the city center and imposed a siege for about two hours and 20 minutes. Some supporters of the strikers were wounded in clashes with police forces. These injuries included a heavy blow suffered by Mr. Ernest Perdoda, the district chairman of the Association of Former Victims of Political Persecution, who, even though in advanced old age, stood in the front rank throughout the confrontation together with his colleagues Tome Sheldija and Nik Pavaci. It is worth emphasizing that the police and rapid deployment forces of Shkoder District stood to one side and refused to take part in the operation. At 0740, Mr. Marjan Prendi, the district police chief, impelled both by the great pressure exerted by supportive citizens who had surrounded the city center and the resignation of his superior Sule Petku, even demanded the withdrawal of the "mercenary" forces that had been imported. After the withdrawal of the police forces, the people surged toward the strikers' building and celebrated their first triumph against Berisha's regime. Thus the first spontaneous rally against the current regime was held, with resounding cries of "Freedom, democracy;" "Down with the dictatorship;" "Down with the renegades Arbnori and Spahia;" "Down with corruption;" "No mercy to the oil smugglers," and other slogans against the government. Another important factor was the powerful support of the Catholic clergy led by Archbishop Frano Ilia, who physically protected the honor of the building with their own bodies.

"We demand justice in the name of God, and are determined on this," Monsignor Frano Ilia told ALEANCA.

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Thus, after only three years, Arbnori, Spahia, and their comrades have shamefully failed as Shkoder's political representatives, just like their predecessors Muho Asllani and Xhemal Dymylja. The final item on the Democratic Alliance's motion that remained to be proved—the demagoguery of Berisha's regime toward the former political prisoners—was also demonstrated. This regime, having used the former prisoners as a powerful card in its political hand, has now violently turned on them with rubber truncheons. Thus, new wounds from the Berisha post-dictatorship have been added to the old wounds of the Enverist dictatorship that still pain this long-suffering section of Albanian society.

Shkoder, Albania's political barometer, records low atmospheric pressure again today. It seems that storms will start again in the northern city.

While the strike resolutely continues in Shkoder, a Public Order Ministry helicopter carrying Minister Musaraj and Deputy Minister Sabri Lacaj has landed.

Striker on Police 'Savagery'

AU1608103494 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 13 Aug 94 p 3

[Interview with Kurt Kola, chairman of the Association of Former Prisoners and Victims of Political Persecution, by Blendi Fevziu in Tirana on 12 August: "Kurt Kola: I Will Continue the Hunger Strike Wherever I Am"]

[Text] With his shirt unbuttoned and a black file in his hand, escorted by one of the strike leaders and followed by his car, an old Italian Fiat, Kurt Kola, currently chairman of the Association of Former Prisoners and Victims of Political Persecution, was the last striker to leave the hunger strike building. Exhausted and cut to the quick by the excessive operation, this man with 27 years of imprisonment behind him still cannot believe his defeat. He gave a final improvised interview to a group of journalists that had watched the event.

[Fevziu] Mr. Kola, what do you think of today's operation?

[Kola] It was a violent operation, an act of violence in the face of which we could do nothing. The savagery and arrogance of the special forces remind you of 1967 when the churches and mosques were destroyed. It was a terrible operation.

[Fevziu] Do you think there was nothing you could have done?

[Kola] Nothing. The police forces were highly organized and equipped for clashes, and we could not risk the lives of our people. Most of them are elderly. The police were extremely violent. All the doors in the building have been broken down, except for that of the finance office. The headquarters is no longer recognizable. This was a scandalous act. To vandalize an association and its headquarters is intolerable, but anything can happen in Albania today.

[Fevziu] Were there acts of violence?

[Kola] The entire operation might be called violent. However, there were no clashes because we issued appeals for calm. Force was only used against the women who refused to leave. They were on the second floor and were dragged out on their knees. Azem Hajdari is left in the building. He has immunity and cannot be touched. He will continue the strike in my office.

[Fevziu] Will the strike continue in other premises?

[Kola] I think so. We are all strikers and consider ourselves on strike even though we were forcibly evicted. Personally, I will continue the hunger strike wherever I am! In my home, in my office, or in a cell. I think the others will do the same. This is what they have done in many towns.

[Fevziu] Two final questions. Is it true that the police cut your phone line before the operation began?

[Kola] Yes. The headquarter's phones did not work after 0230 [0030 GMT], when the police entered the building.

[Fevziu] Some of the strikers accused the strike leadership and even you personally and Azem Hajdari of having betrayed them by opening the door to the police.

[Kola] The strikers are upset. They have not eaten for a week, in very difficult hygienic and sanitary conditions. They cannot judge with cool heads. They could not resist the police. The police realized this and came in large numbers, armed to the teeth.

Yet our demands are fair and we are not giving up before they are fulfilled.

Finally, I want to thank you journalists for the wonderful stand you have taken. Thank you.

Kurt Kola set off toward northern Tirana, via the Cafe Europa, followed by a few supporters. It was 0403. Three hours later, he was arrested for the third time in his life, after 1952 and 1974.

President Berisha Pays Tribute to Manfred Woerner

LD1508211394 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1800 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Being informed of the death of the general secretary of NATO and the friend of the Albanians and Albania, Manfred Woerner, the Albanian President Sali Berisha said: With his death the North Atlantic Alliance lost its missionary politician, the man who, thanks to his courage, determination, and farsightedness did so much to give NATO a new role and dimension after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Germany lost a man who gave honor to the German nation. The East European countries lost

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their great lawyer of cooperation and membership to this organization [as heard], while Albania lost a distinguished friend whose support, help, and respect we shall always remember with great honor.

Article Views TV Director's Visit to Iran

AU1508084894 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 11 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by Blendi Fevziu: "Personal Initiative or Islamic Politics?"]

[Text] No official response to the visit of the general director of Albanian Radio-Television [RTSh] to Tehran, and no comment on the agreement signed there: The pretend silence has been broken only by a BBC report referring to Radio Tehran, according to which Albania will become a "bridge" for the transmission of Muslim religious broadcasts. Bucpapaj [RTSh general director] appeared for the first time on an official visit without his wife (perhaps because of the compulsory veil) and gave no further explanations. The other members of the delegation, chief of religious broadcasting F. Samarxhi and head of culture Kaninj, were equally unforthcoming. However, despite the silence and mystery, the three musketeers of the Albanian official media were the first to brave the wasteland of bilateral relations and to tackle one of the most delicate points over which Iran stands accused—the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

Islamic fundamentalism, the leitmotiv of the revolution of 1978 that toppled Shah Pahlevi and brought Ayatollah Khomeini to power, became the reason for the political and cultural embargo imposed by the civilized world on Iran. In the name of fundamentalism, the most spine-chilling medieval punishments were introduced, and one of the planet's most backward-looking societies was constructed. Iran inspired international acts of terrorism and today figures with Syria on the list of countries practicing terrorism. Relations with these countries are therefore especially delicate, as was evident in Christopher's recent visits to the Middle East.

Behind the showcase of the Iranian revolution, the world became aware of a new reality that was soon to take threatening form in Iraq, Algeria, etc.

Iran's relations with Albania, traditionally limited to the framework of the Ottoman Empire, were revived after the 1978 revolution. The communist government of Tirana and the revolutionary government of Tehran went through a period of Platonic love, perhaps inspired by the violence in both countries. However, the relations conducted at the level of delegations of the mass organizations and the trade unions were never developed to a higher level. Personalities from the two countries never exchanged visits, and the key problem of Islam was never put forward on the discussion table.

After the downfall of the dictatorship, relations between the two countries fell to zero-level, apart from a routine visit by the Albanian health minister. It is the television trio who are the icebreakers, if one can say that Mr. Bucpapaj satisfies the conditions of being a high official. The significance of the visit is not clear unless it is explained whether the Albanian general director had a mandate for the agreement from the RTSh management council or, even more, if the latter sounded the views of parliament.

There exists a strict protocol for such visits with political consequences conducted by high state personalities.

There has been no explanation about the ignorance of knowledge of these authorities, but there has been surprise among the Tirana diplomatic corps, which is still unable to interpret the agreement as either an individual initiative or a political strategy. Albania, which has suffered from the strategy of bridges, cannot now build a new bridge to export Iranian Islam to the West, even though its architect [Skender Bucpapaj] has the same first name as the Albanian national hero [Skenderberg] who conclusively blocked any such bridge 500 years ago.

Ministry Presents 1st Half Foreign Trade Figures

AU1608111594 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Aug 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Italy Accounts for More Than One-Half of Albanian Exports"]

[Text] A report by the Ministry of Trade and Industry states that in the first six months of this year the volume of exports to Italy was $33.971 million and to Balkan countries $9.450 million.

Italy accounted for more than half of Albania's exports, which totalled $54 million. Chrome, ferrochrome, clothing, vegetables, and fruit accounted for most of the value of these exports.

Among Balkan countries, Greece received the most exports, to a value of $4.976 million; followed by Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] with $3.044 million, and Turkey with $617,000. Cyprus was in last place with $19,000.

Italy also assumed first place on the list of imports compared with other countries. Of the $232 million of imports in the first half of the year, of which more than $30 million came in the form of aid, $84.855 million or more than one-third came from Italy, of which $15.829 million came in the form of aid. Among the Balkan countries, the most imports came from Greece with $57.716 million; Bulgaria with $21.948 million; and Turkey with $10.977 million. The least imports came from Cyprus with $34,000.

Oil, gasoline, food, various forms of technical equipment, etc. accounted for a large proportion of imports. "Private trade had a great influence on these imports," the Ministry of Trade and Industry report stated.

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Treatment of Tirana Journalists Deplored

94P20070A Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 3 Jul 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Why Is the Macedonian State Frightened by the Newsmen from Tirana?"]

[Text] Albanian journalists from Tirana were not spared the effects of the nervousness and uncertainty which pervaded political and state circles of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] during the registration of the population. The camera of cameraman Naun Lasku and the note pad of journalist Aferdita Sokoli were the only reasons why the Albanian Television team, which was in Skopje to cover the registration, had to spend an unpleasant hour in the offices of the Macedonian police department. Only a few days earlier, some "unidentified persons" broke into the car of their Albanian Telegraph Agency colleagues in broad daylight and, with unexplainable indifference on the part of the Macedonian police, stole all their work materials and everything else they had with them for the trip. After the journalists reported the theft, the Macedonian police took more than two hours to arrive at the scene of the crime, despite the fact that the event happened no more than 300 meters from police headquarters in a rather busy section of Skopje. The arrival of the group of experts and the completion of the formalities, photographing the car, receiving information and questioning witnesses did not help the ATA journalists, despite their insistence, for three straight days, that they receive the official report of the Macedonian police on the event.

Most likely, there is no chance that it was just an ordinary robbery. The failure to call the police, who were located nearby, while "unidentified persons" were running away with stolen bags, and the deliberate delay in the execution of all other procedures by the police lead one to believe that the roots are deeper. The detention and unjustified searching of the Albanian Television team a few days later arouse even more suspicion. Perhaps the meeting of the newsmen with the chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity with headquarters in Tetovo, Arben Xhaferi—along with a number of other activists of this great political party of the Albanians—who has been denouncing, on the basis of much evidence, the discriminatory policy which the Macedonian state has been carrying on against the Albanian population, is one of the real reasons for their surveillance, their robbery, and their detention by the police. It seems to me that extremist circles of Macedonian official policy are afraid of the emergence of the truth outside the armored tower of state propaganda and the real presentation of the situation in which the registration of the population in the FYROM is occurring with many problems and anomalies.

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Hodja Accuses Parliamentarians of Corruption

AU1208164994 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 9 Aug 94 p 5

[Interview with Mehmed Hodja, leader of the Party of Democratic Changes, by Valya Apostolova; place and date not given: "If This National Assembly Would Be Dissoved, Half of the Members Should Be Sued for Illegal Business Transactions"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Apostolova] Why did you, after being Ahmed Dogan's deputy, stand up against your leader, in the long run?

[Mehmed Hodja] Many people warned me to be careful in dealing with the central leadership of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. I was patient and waited until I learned more about the DPS leaders' personal qualities. After two and a half years, I realized that the Movement's policy is incompatible with the stand of our constituents. It was conducting a destructive and incorrect policy, which rather than speeding up the process of transition to democracy was slowing it down. This was the main reason why I left the DPS and established my own party. I know that the majority of our voters no longer support Dogan. The Party of Democratic Changes has rallied all those who are discontent and disappointed with the DPS. It is a fact that our party managed to build its own structures in the Eastern Rhodope region in such a short time. Some people may have considered my reaction rather too drastic. Hence, I was described as a revolutionary dissident. Nevertheless, there is no personal animosity between me and the DPS leader. Our differences are based on principles.

[Apstolova] You said that the DPS is conducting a destructive policy. Would this be the end of the Movement?

[Mehmed Hodja] The current DPS policy only prolongs the agony. I have the feeling that the DPS leaders are eager to provoke ethnic confrontation. We should be very careful in dealing with them, especially after Dogan's recent statements. It was dangerous for the ethnic Turks as well as for the country as a whole. The ill-considered actions of the DPS and the repeated blunders of its leaders are responsible for things having gone so far. Under Filip Dimitrov's government, the DPS leadership did not have any opportunity to draw personal profit from its participation in political life. The government's efforts to eliminate the red mafia and to prevent money laundering were not to the DPS leaders'advantage. Hence, they wished to overthrow the government and were perfectly successful in doing so. The special secret services are watching all DPS activities closely, and no one should be mistaken about that. [passage omitted]

[Apsotolova] To what extent can one believe the allegations of corruption within the DPS?

[Mehmed Hodja] I can cite a few examples in this respect: It is not admissible that Osman Oktay, who is one of the DPS' most influential leaders, should so greedily get involved with certain economic branches. Documents exist proving that Osman Oktay has pocketed the 100,000 leva granted by a Silistra company for the daily PRAVA I SVOBODI. This is what I call corruption. Is it justified that Sherife Mustafa should be a member of the Agrobusiness Bank's Administrative Council in the 1992-93 period, where she earned about 300,000 leva? It is logical to ask, what Mrs. Sherife Mustafa understands about banking and what is her contribution to the bank's management. Is the salary of a National Assembly deputy not enough? In every civilized state, politicians must declare their income before being elected. Is it admissible that Ahmed Dogan, who never deprives himself of any luxury, who never stays in a modest hotel, whose daily expenses amount to the monthly income of the common people, should not even know where his income comes from? The total amount of Dogan's income as a National Assembly deputy since 1990 has not exceeded 400,000 leva. How can we explain the fact that he has recently bought real estate on the outskirts of Vitosha Mountain worth over 10 million leva? [passage omitted] In my view, every National Assembly member should sign a declaration that he will not get involved in illegal business translations. If this parliament would be dissolved one day, half of the deputies would be subject to legal investigation. [passage omitted]

[Apostolova] Does corruption apply solely to parliament members?

[Mehmed Hodja] The Bulgarian Socialist Party managed to infiltrate its own professionally trained people into key positions of the banks, the boards of directors of private companies, in the oil processing plants, and especially in the tourist trade, which is the most profitable branch, as we know. The communists established new Labor Cooperative Agricultural Farms. The fact that the members of such cooperatives do not know and have no idea what kind of share they have in the cooperatives and what they actually own. I shall cite another example for you. Let us take the recently notorious bank corruption affair in Northern Bulgaria. Only persons acting on the instructions of the former Communist Party would be capable of acting in such a way.

Article Profiles DEMOKRATISIYA Editors

AU1208132694 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 6 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by Lyuba Marinova: "DEMOKRATSIYA Has Appointed New Deputy Chief Editors"]

[Text] Atanas Svilenov and Irina Yordanova are the new deputy editors in chief of the daily DEMOKRATSIYA, despite the fact that they have not yet been officially incorporated onto the new editorial board. The two journalists are expected to assume their official duties after their approval by the editors' trade union on 5 September 1994.

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Irina Yordanova, hitherto employed as an editor in the Political Department of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], worked as Lyubomir Levchev's secretary at the Writers' Union until 10 November 1989. Atanas Svilenov is a former chief editor of the weekly LITERATUREN FORUM and moderator of a cultural television program on Channel 1. He was demoted by a decision of the General Assembly of the literary weekly's publishing house, which prints LITERATUREN FORUM, but remained as a rank-and-file member of the Executive Council.

People at the LITERATUREN FORUM were surprised to hear the news about Mr. Svilenov's new appointment, since he was supposed to be on leave and has not appeared since 20 July 1994. His new colleague Vladimir Popov claimed that this was only a rumor. Yesterday, however, the new deputy editor in chief was seen inspecting his future working place, other journalists reported.

Ivo Indzhev, who was appointed editor in chief of the daily DEMOKRATSIYA last week, declared that he has selected his own team. "I shall insist that the trade union of the DEMOKRATSIYA Publishing House should not vote on the two candidates, since I have personally appointed them, and they are precisely the people I have chosen to work with," he added. Mr. Indzhev is expected to specify his views on the future development of the daily DEMOKRATISYA by 5 September 1994. I have not spent the last few months thinking how to change DEMOKRATSIYA, because my appointment to the post of editor in chief was a great surprise for me, Mr. Indzhev explained.

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Republic To Repay $471 Million Debt to IMF

LD1508193094 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Excerpt] According to Martin Svehla, Czech National Bank spokesman, the fact that the Czech Republic will be the first Central and East European country to repay its debt to the International Monetary Fund will be a positive signal for foreign investors. In the next few weeks, the Czech Republic will pay back $471 million to the IMF. [passage omitted]

Majority Against Stoppage of Arms Production

AU1608111494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "(jik)": "Arms Production Is Declining, but People Do Not Want It Stopped"]

[Text] Prague—Substantially fewer arms are being produced in our Republic than before 1989. Public opinion polls show, however, that over 85 percent of the citizens do not agree with complete discontinuation of the arms production.

Most of them believe that, if the Czech Republic ceased producing arms, other countries would immediately take its place on the market.

More than one-third of the respondents in a poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research described the arms trade as immoral; however, some of them said at the same time that stopping production would solve nothing. Half of the people even believe that the arms industry is economically advantageous and should therefore expand. Also, half of the people agree with the export of arms to foreign countries.

Kamil Cermak, spokesman of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said that the Czech Republic did not export arms to any of the so-called problematic countries. "We sell arms technology only to countries where the arms are used for training purposes and cannot pose a threat to anyone," Cermak said.

Despite the fact that, according to Cermak, it is evident that domestic firms have had to limit arms production in recent years, particularly in connection with the loss of the markets in the former CEMA countries, precise data are not easily accessible at present. Most of the producers are private firms, and they do not provide precise data, Cermak said. "For example, the production of radars in Tesla Pardubice or heavy ammunition in the Policka engineering plant has certainly declined. Also the activity of the former monopoly arms exporter Omnipol has declined considerably since most manufacturers are negotiating contracts for themselves."

The Ministry of Trade only keeps track of the number of exported arms and proceeds from foreign trade. For example, last year the export of aircraft from Aero Vodochody increased. While in 1992 their export was worth $11 million, last year it reached $131 million, with Egypt and Thailand being the most important markets. Overall, arms technology worth $167 million was exported last year. Apart from aircraft, ground mobile technology and small arms were also exported.

Former Czechoslovakia had sold the largest quantity of weapons abroad in 1987, when the overall sum reached $680 million. This figure was the smallest in 1992, when Czechoslovak weapons were sold abroad for $150 million.

Commentary Warns Against Russian Imperialism

94CH0371A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Jul 94 p 1

[Commentary by Jiri Hanak: "The Iron Curtain"]

[Text] The latest iron curtain in Europe was lifted five years ago, and it is already appropriate to ask where the next one will descend. There was alwalys an iron curtain in the places the Russian Cossacks, and later tanks, reached. The right to build it has been assumed by Russia since that day in 1709 when the troops of Peter the Great slashed their way through the Swedish regiments near Poltava to the threshold of the European peninsula. For borderless Mother Russia, Europe is really nothing more than that.

Europe misunderstood the significance of what happened that day, and it continues in its delusion to this day because it still holds that at issue is the Europeanization of Russia, whereas at issue is, of course, the Russification of Europe. This idea comes in ebbs and flows, where so far each hopeful ebb has been followed by an even more turbulent tidal wave. After the breakup of the czarist empire in 1918, Russian tanks stopped 27 years later within shooting distance of the Swiss border.

How many illusions the West has lived under already, and how many bad bets it has made! It bet on "Uncle Stalin, who was surely going to liberalize Russia but continued the murdering and the Russification, instead; on Khruschev, another liberalizer, who smuggled nuclear rockets into Cuba; on Brezhnev, who gave out the noisiest kisses and planted SS-20 rockets in the very heart of Europe; on "Gorby," who perhaps was the only one in the history of Russia who crossed the Rubicon toward civilized international relations only to have everything dissolve in his hands in the end. Today, the West's favorite is Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president.

In the West, only a few will acknowledge, and only unwillingly, that he is merely a temporary one because a powerful tidal wave is already rising behind him. Surfing on it are not the rather simple entertainers of the Zhirinovskiy type, but cold-blooded and goal-oriented users of power such as general and former Vice President Rutskoy. They do not waste time talking about swashing Russian army boots in the Indian Ocean, but they do not veil what is fundamental: restoration of Russia as a superpower! No longer, of course, as the Soviet Union,

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but as the sole Russian nation, in which the smaller nations, those "that have no power to influence anything," will dissolve (interview with Alexander Rutskoy by LIDOVE NOVINY on 25 July 1994). The Russian borders to be, of course, as they existed in 1915. Including the Baltics, including Poland, including Central Asia, including Ukraine. And they do have a chance, those brownish red Slavs!

The only thing that can stop them is if this time the West resolves to put up an iron curtain in case these Russian imperialists win. The only thing that can stop them is the West's realization that, so far, it had bet on horses that had no chance of making it through the finish line.

CMSS Chairman on Proposed Merger of Centrists

AU1608111394 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 9 Aug 94 p 2

[Interview with Jan Krycer, chairman of the Bohemian-Moravian Party of the Center, by Milan Storek; place and date not given: "A Strong Club of Deputies Is a Priority"]

[Text] The weekend before last, a joint meeting was held in Brno of the presidiums of the Bohemian-Moravian Party of the Center (CMSS) and the Liberal and Social Union (LSU), at which it was agreed that both entities on the left of the center in the political spectrum would merge into one party. First, the LSU and the CMSS clubs of deputies should merge in the first half of September, and on 17 December a merger congress should be held. We asked CMSS Chairman Jan Krycer about the details.

[Storek] So far, only two political entities are involved. Is that not too little for the integration of the forces in the center of the political spectrum?

[Krycer] It is impossible to merge political entities with their structures and programs all at once and approach the merger as a matter that could be done overnight. First, we can do one thing, and only then can we consider the next step. At present, the position in parliament is the most important issue for us. This means to establish a club that would conduct a unified policy and become, in fact, the third-largest club in parliament.

[Storek] This is certainly true of parliament's current electoral term, but what about the future?

[Krycer] The situation with regard to prospects for the future is similar, in my opinion, because there is no other suitable partner entity [for merger] among the present parliamentary parties. Certainly, there are suitable partners among the extraparliamentary parties, but, at the moment, this is a far more difficult matter than the merger of the LSU, the Agrarian Party, and the CMSS.

[Storek] The Free Democrats (Civic Movement), in particular, are a potential partner. They find it difficult to become reconciled to the fact that they have been left out of the talks on integration, even though they had actually initiated them in the first phase.

[Krycer] Certainly, but this ensues from the fact that, while between us, the LSU, and the Agrarian Party there are no principal differences and we can reach agreement basically on everything, differences of opinion do exist between us and the Free Democrats (Civic Movement). In other words, first we will finalize the merger of what we consider nonproblematic, and only then shall we contemplate what to do next.

[Storek] Do you rule out the possibility of further talks being held with entities other than the CMSS and the LSU before 17 December, when the merger congress is to be held?

[Krycer] Obviously, talks can never be ruled out; that is a different matter. I have serious doubts, however, that we would be able to give a realistic shape to anything with anyone else besides the LSU by then.

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Interior Minister on Visit to U.S., FBI

LD1508214594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Unfortunately, Slovakia has not avoided terrorism, drugs, violence, and organized crime. Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner, you returned this afternoon from the United States, where you visited the FBI and the antidrug office [Drug Enforcement Administration]. What specific results for Slovakia have you brought from this visit?

[Pittner] [passage omitted] This visit had several objectives. First, we wanted to find a method of cooperation with the FBI that would enable us to solve common problems that worry us, and we reached unanimous agreement: We will be exchanging information through the FBI's office in Vienna. Second, we wanted to get acquainted with the overall activities of these two institutions, particularly the FBI, during this visit. We were given very thorough information. We had an opportunity to visit different departments every day, and we were briefed by the staff about their aims, results, and activities.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did the FBI make a specific offer to train our personnel in the United States?

[Pittner] Yes, we could have sent quite a few of our staff to their FBI Academy this September if we had a sufficient number of people speaking the language. Unfortunately, due to the past, the linguistic capabilities of our police are not up to it. We are therefore sending one person in September, for the time being, and we hope that intensive language training will enable us to send more.

[Correspondent] Central Europe has become a crossroads for international crime and drug-trafficking. As far as I know, the FBI has approximately 24 offices around the world. During the visit of the FBI director, consideration was given to setting up an office in Bratislava. Did you agree on any specific points in this connection?

[Pittner] While we were in the United States, the bill on fighting crime was discussed. The United States is very forthcoming with the office in Bratislava. [passage omitted] We have seen people everywhere trying to get specific and high-level cooperation going. This matter should be resolved in the near future. [passage omitted] As far as East and Central Europe is concerned, they do want to open offices here, and Bratislava is a serious contender. [passage omitted]

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Former Defense Minister Fur on 'Secret Talks'

LD1508141294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Telephone interview with Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and former defense minister, by unidentified studio announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Following his talks in Yugoslavia, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti told Hungarian Radio's "Morning Chronicle" program that Lajos Fur held secret talks in his capacity as defense minister one year ago. On the line is Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Lajos Fur. What do you say regarding this announcement?

[Fur] As far as our relations, our connection with Yugoslavia—or rump Yugoslavia, Serbia—are concerned, it is common knowledge that there have been discussions and contacts with the Yugoslav defense leadership at various levels during the course of the past years.

[Announcer] Did you personally meet the leader of the Ministry there?

[Fur] Meetings took place at various levels and achieved various results as well. Among other things, one of the most important results was the establishment of the border zone, mainly an airspace zone. Military aircraft may not fly from either side into a 10-km zone.

[Announcer] You have not yet answered the question whether you personally held discussions?

[Fur] I have answered that there were discussions at various levels with the Yugoslav military and defense leadership. I do not wish to say any more than this at the moment.

[Announcer] In other words, you do not wish to confirm whether you held discussions.

[Fur] I do not wish to make any further statement in addition to what I have said.

Environmental Group Member Views Bos Dam Issue

AU1208172394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Aug 94 p 4

[Interview with Janos Vargha, member of the Danube Circle executive committee, by Janos A. Szilagyi; place and date not given: "Vargha: No Possibility for Technical Compromise at Bos"]

[Text] The optimistic governmental hopes regarding the Hungarian-Slovak summit in Bratislava last week did not come true, Janos Vargha, member of the Danube Circle's executive committee, told MAGYAR HIRLAP. The environmentalists still have hope for settling the Bos problem through negotiations, however. If environmental considerations are pushed into the background in the domestic decisions, they will then again turn to society in the interest of protecting the Danube.

[Szilagyi] What were the views of the [environmentalist] movements on the Bratislava summit?

[Vargha] In our view, no progress was achieved in the Bos issue, the government's optimism was not justified. It is not clear on what grounds [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn raised his—in our view, harmful and unfortunate—proposal to reexamine the possibility of putting the Dunakiliti reservoir into operation. We agree with the cabinet that negotiations are needed and that the most important task is to ensure the survival of the Szigetkoz [area along the Danube, northwestern Hungary], however, this cannot be done by constructing a weir to block the Danube or by using the Dunakility reservoir, which would undermine the Hungarian position at The Hague.

[Szilagyi] The majority of experts and politicians dealing with Bos believe that miracles cannot be expected from the decision of the International Court, we have to agree with the Slovaks before The Hague decision is made.

[Vargha] It is a mistake to believe that the water barrage issue is basically a Hungarian-Slovak conflict. The clashing of two attitudes and interest groups is the actual essence of the issue. One of them stands by the ecological principles that were accepted at the Rio de Janeiro world conference and sees the Danube's animal and plant life and the drinking water stock as irreplaceable assets and, as a matter of fact, the decisive majority in Parliament also supported this view through its decisions in the previous cycle. Those in favor of the water barrage do not recognize this value. The fantasy that is nowadays mentioned as the technical compromise—which would maintain the expensive energy production on the flat land and would also leave some water for nature—does not present a solution, but increases the expenses. The politicians should take responsibility for a decision because a compromise only slows down the destruction of nature, but does not stop it. They should either decide to complete the power station according to the original plans or, based on The Hague, they should do all they can to assert the ecological principles.

[Szilagyi] In recent weeks, a number of statements have been published that indicated that the small group of people forming the Danube Circle wants to force decisions by blackmailing the government and ignoring the will of people in the Szigetkoz.

[Vargha] In the past years, in the case of parliamentary decisions on the Bos issue, we did not need to use the same means as in the previous regime, until 1989. This is one of the reasons the public's attention to this issue has decreased. However, it is not true that the water barrage was only an excuse for the fight against the totalitarian system and people are not interested in the fate of the power station anymore. At the moment, we still believe that we can talk with the government on the Bos issue.

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However, if we find that the environmental values are pushed into the background in the decisions then we will need some means with which we can offset the regression. As for the supposed conflict of the people of Szigetkoz and the environmentalists, it has to be seen clearly that those people are responsible for the destruction of plant and animal life in the area, for the unnecessarily spent billions of forints, and the thousands of conflicts who, at the time, forced the construction of the edifice, who persecuted the members of the Danube Circle, and who decided in favor of the construction in Parliament in 1988 and even on the acceleration of the investment a year later. We always wanted to prevent any damage to the river and to preserve the natural life of the Danube for the Szigetkoz.

[Szilagyi] In the past the Danube Circle and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] held similar views on the necessary actions to do with the barrage. Have you become more distant from each other since the SZDSZ entered government?

[Vargha] The views of the environmentalist movements and all the parliamentary parties coincided on the Danube issue for a long time. The parliamentary decisions on Bos were made with a six-party consensus and great agreement. We did not have close contacts with the Free Democrats in the past, either. In addition to the democratic opposition that formed the SZDSZ's core, other people who later joined the Hungarian Democratic Forum, for example, also participated in the actions for the protection of the Danube while the members of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party naturally did not join our actions. With the Hungarian Socialist Party's election victory, some people who supported the power station system in the state-party era have necessarily come to the surface. In the case of a coalition government, it is natural that the government shows a unanimous attitude to the outside, but this does not mean that everyone has the same views on the Bos issues.

ΩTension, Clashes Involving Gypsies Reported

94P21075A

[Editorial Report] An area of Csepel Island, Budapest's main industrial area, almost became "a battlefield" on 26 July when 150-200 Gypsies with "knives, hachets, and sticks" gathered in the street to seek "vengeance" agaist "their enemies," according to the 28 July issue of the daily UJ MAGYARORSZAG. Local opinion about the cause of the incident was divided, UJ MAGYARORSZAG reported, between those who said that "first skinheads attacked the Gypsies" and those who maintained that the "Gypsies provoked the outrageous situation." Describing the event, an unnamed witness said that the Gypsies congregated after they had "exchanged words" with some "non-Gypsies" in an entertainment hall. Policemen "in great numbers," including "commandos on the rooftops," quickly converged on the scene and were able to restore order "without force" by negotiating with leaders of the Gypsy community. The witness said he had never seen such an incident before in Csepel, although some "smaller" verbal confrontations had occurred because the Gypsies are "constantly carousing." The district's mayor denied that the hostility resulted from ethnic factors, saying that the "real cause" was the "difficult" economic situation and high unemployment rate in the area, UJ MAGYARORSZAG reported. If there is not an improvement in the situation, the "tension may grow and break out again in some form," the mayor reportedly said.

Opinion was similarly divided concerning clashes involving Gypsies in Gyongyos, a town northeast of Budapest. According to an 8 July report by NEPSZABADSAG's investigative reporters, the latest incident, which resulted in "significant material damage" but "relatively few physical injuries," occurred when the town's only disco refused to admit some Gypsies, prompting clashes—both near the disco and in other neighborhoods—between Gypsies and supporters of the disco's employees. However, the disco's manager denied that he excluded anyone on an ethnic basis, saying that he merely turned away all troublemakers who had damaged the property. "The problem was that if we turned away a Hungarian youth, he accepted it, but if it was a Gypsy, he wouldn't. It never occurred to me to exclude Gypsies—if they behave decently they can come in, and they do come." Other interviewees indicated, however, that hostility toward Gypsies was the root of the problem. One local person told the daily that although there is no skinhead organization in the town, "many" young people in Gyongyos look like skinheads and "express their hatred of Gypsies whenever tehy get the chance." Moreover, claimed the local government's "minority consultant"—a Gypsy—the police are more lenient with skinhead than with Gypsy lawbreakers. The town's mayor, NEPSZABADSAG reported, thinks the "serious social conflict" between Gypsies and non-Gypsies will not be resolved "even in a generation."

Management Posts Filled at Hungarian Radio

LD1508175294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] More managers have been appointed at Hungarian Radio. Chairman Janos Sziranyi appointed Dr. Gabriella Brenner head of the legal department. The chairman's office will be led by (Laszlo Ovari), head of the radio's international relations department. He will be in charge of both positions. Aniko Varsanyi became the Hungarian Radio's chief director. Jozsef Laszlo was appointed general deputy editor in chief of Petoefi Radio [Channel 2 of Hungarian Radio].

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Former Spy To Head Intelligence Service

LD1608074094 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0700 GMT 16 Aug 94

[Text] Marian Zacharski, a former Polish spy who was active in the United States, has been appointed head of the civilian intelligence service. The fact of his nomination has been confirmed by Irena Popoff, press spokeswoman for the State Protection Office. Zacharski conducted his intelligence activities in the 1970's and 1980's, when he worked as a businessman. He was arrested and sentenced in the United States to life imprisonment. In 1985 he was exchanged for a dozen or so Western intelligence service agents caught in East Europe.

More on Appointment

WS1608081494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Katarzyna Nazarewicz and "PJW": "PRL's Superspy Becomes Intelligence Chief"]

[Text] *As ZYCIE WARSZAWY has learned, Major Marian Zacharski, one of the most famous spies of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] era, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the United States, was appointed chief of the Polish Republic's civilian intelligence. Zacharski is another officer of the communist special services to assume a prominent post in the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW].*

The appointment of Maj. Zacharski was signed by Colonel Gromoslaw Czempinski, chief of the Office of State Protection [UOP], who himself was a PRL intelligence officer since 1972. The new chief of UOP's First Department (intelligence) has been a full-time intelligence officer for over 20 years. The appointment was confirmed by UOP Press Spokesman Irena Popoff in a conversation with ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Zacharski worked for communist intelligence since the mid-1970's. After graduating from Warsaw University's Law School in 1973, he began working in the Metalexport foreign trade center. At the same time, he was an intelligence officer occupying a secret post at the MSW.

The new intelligence chief is regarded as one of the best communist spies to have operated in the United States. Officers of Western special services regard him highly because they have never been able to catch him red-handed.

Working in the United States as a Polish trade expert in the years 1979-81, he gained information on, among other things, the Patriot antimissile system, which he later handed over to the communist bloc. He was arrested after two years and sentenced to life imprisonment in the United States on "conspiracy" charges. After having served four years in prison, Zacharski was exchanged for several Western spies in 1985.

After his return to Poland, Zacharski was appointed manager of the Pewex enterprise; he served in that post for six years, until 1991. In recent years, he cooperated with the Warsaw-based Interams computer company, where he was president and managing director.

Zacharski has not been employed anywhere (other than the MSW) for several months now, and he was preparing to assume the post of intelligence chief. He replaced Colonel Janusz Luks, who was also an intelligence officer working in the United States during the PRL era.

After Luks, Czempinski, and Deputy MSW Minister Henryk Jasik, Zacharski is another officer of PRL intelligence to be given a high post in the MSW. Politicians of various orientations, who were asked about this appointment by ZYCIE WARSZAWY, expressed their amazement or indignation over Zacharski's appointment.

Politicians Register Surprise

WS1608095894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Politicians Surprised by Appointment of Intelligence Chief"]

[Text] We asked several politicians from the Union of Labor [UP], the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Conservative Coalition [KK], and the Movement for the Republic [RdR] to comment on the appointment of Marian Zacharski as chief of civilian intelligence:

Zbigniew Bujak (UP), chairman of the Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Commission: I do not like the fact that officers of the previous system are given appointments in services that have not yet been subjected to mechanisms of parliamentary control. The post should have been taken over by a civilian who is familiar with issues of state security. The commission I represent will try to inquire about who Mr. Zacharski really is and why he was given this post.

Sejm Deputy Jerzy Dziewulski (SLD): I was caught by surprise. I thought somebody from inside the Office of State Protection [UOP] would be appointed intelligence chief, but I thought it would one of the administrative personnel. I had not heard about Zacharski's candidacy. I think [UOP Chief] Czempinski is just beginning a series of changes in the office. He will most probably replace the chiefs of other departments at UOP soon; at least this is what we have been hearing. He has been clearly appointing his own men. He himself was a personnel officer, and this is precisely the kind of person with whom he wants to surround himself. Gratitude and a certain kind of loyalty in return for an appointment is a crucial part of the work performed by the service.

Zacharski pulled a few good numbers and did a lot of work in the past, but the fact remains that his cover was blown. I have doubts as to whether he should be given this kind of post now.

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Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski (KK): Following the dismissal of Hodysz and the appointment of Czempinski, Zacharski's appointment is another example of disastrous personnel decisions at UOP, which is dominated by people who have worked for the benefit of the previous system. I have doubts as to whether they will be defending the Polish raison d'etat efficiently. It is also another example that Andrzej Milczanowski, chief of the Internal Affairs Ministry, is not qualified to serve in that post.

Romuald Szeremietiew (RdR): This is a scandal, to say the least. Mr. Zacharski was an efficient agent, but he worked for the sake of Soviet intelligence, and that is enough reason to prevent him from becoming an intelligence employee of an independent Poland.

Columnist Voices 'Concern'

WS1608085394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 94 p 1

[Commentary by Tomasz Wolek: "An Intelligence Ace"]

[Text] The appointment of Marian Zacharski as the new chief of intelligence gives reason to ask a few questions and raise several doubts. I think one should share the view of the leadership of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] that one should approach the issue of special services in a very professional manner and that, in the process, one should avoid inconsiderate, emotion-filled judgments. This applies, in particular, to intelligence services, which are established through a lot of hard work, often over years and years. Intelligence also requires exceptional stability. It is very easy to waste the legacy of many years. That is why the regular core of the intelligence services is derived from the era of the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

What must raise concern, however, is that leadership posts in the MSW are being given almost exclusively to people of such an orientation—Gromoslaw Czempinski, Henryk Jasik, and now Marian Zacharski, the most famous PRL spy to have operated in the United States. We will most probably soon be told that he rendered great services to the Polish state. The problem, however, is that the state did not enjoy full sovereignty, to put it mildly, while its military was part of the Warsaw Pact, which was completely subordinated to the interests of the USSR. So the question must be asked: Who really benefited from Zacharski's espionage achievements?

While overcoming many hurdles and problems in its way, Poland has been striving toward NATO membership. NATO is the very same organization whose most tightly kept military secrets the current intelligence chief was trying to uncover until just recently. Politically speaking, such an ostentatious demonstration raises concern over the intention and further direction of the Polish transformations, not just in the eyes of foreign countries but also inside the country, a country that has been trying to get rid of the burden of the past for five years now.

Ministry Defends Appointment

LD1608120094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1111 GMT 16 Aug 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Aug (PAP)—Marian Zacharski was appointed head of the intelligence service board of the State Protection Office on Monday, Irena Popoff, press spokeswoman for the State Protection Office disclosed today.

Zacharski's candidacy for the post was suggested to the internal affairs minister by the head of the State Protection Office. Piotr Szczypinski, press spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, said that, when making the decision on the appointment of the candidate, Minister Andrzej Milczanowski took into account that Zacharski "first, is the most talented officer of the scientific and technological intelligence; second, he has not been connected with political intelligence; and third, he is an exceptionally talented and experienced intelligence officer, with a dynamic personality."

Zacharski was born in 1951. He is regarded as one of the most notorious spies of the Polish People's Republic. He has worked for the intelligence service for over 20 years. One of his greatest achievements was to obtain, while he was living in the United States between 1975 and 1981, information on the NATO air-defense system, Patriot missiles, the improved HAWK ground-to-air missiles, and the Phoenix air-to-air missiles. He was arrested in the United States for his spying activities in June 1981 and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1985, he was exchanged, along with three other spies from the former Eastern bloc, for 25 Western intelligence service agents.

After his return to Poland, he worked, among other things, as a director of the Pewex [chain of hard-currency stores].

Walesa Troubled About Army's Difficulties

LD1508175194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1614 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Bydgoszcz, 15 Aug—At a medal presentation ceremony held on the occasion of Polish Army Day in Bydgoszcz today, President Lech Walesa expressed concern about the difficult situation of the Army and said that "this should change even at the expense of other areas of life."

Officers gathered in the Pomeranian Military District cinema hall considered this statement by the supreme commander of the armed forces as a promise of financial help for the Army and welcomed it with loud applause. President Walesa said that he, as a corporal, would be forgiven by society for neglecting the problems and needs of the Army but that society would not forgive generals and politicians for doing the same thing.

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Development Options for Gdynia Port Eyed

MM1508160394 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 2 Aug 94 p 9

[Interview with Jerzy Czartowski, chairman of the Gdynia Port Directorate, by correspondent Jan Kreft; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kreft] The motive of ruthless competition from the West comes up regularly in discussions on the condition of Polish maritime ports. We now have several years' experience to draw on here. How do you assess the position of Gdynia Port?

[Czartowski] For many years, the current belief was that Polish ports naturally attract certain types of cargo and that we need not lose any sleep over it because that cargo would come to us automatically, giving us the chance to earn money by simply transshipping it. Well, in reality it is nothing of the sort. We tried repeatedly to analyze the map of Europe and deduce from it the types of commodities that ought to be arriving as a matter of course at the port of Gdynia. And it always turned out that they refused to arrive here or at least did not arrive in the amounts we were hoping to attract. We are first of all talking here about general cargo, in which German ports also show keen interest. The reasons for this state of affairs are manifold, ranging from the price and quality of our service to aspects that are outside the port's control—such as, for instance, the work of the customs and excise services.

It is very difficult to provide a coherent transport system without active involvement on the state's part. We keep campaigning for major transportation arteries to pass through Gdynia, but securing this will not be feasible without involving the state more actively in the project.

Even then, though, it is hard for us to set up transportation arteries likely to decide in our favor the competition with German ports. Representatives of those ports have much greater potential to create such routes to favor their own ports. This is precisely what competition is all about. It is not ports that compete against one another: It is the transport routes. Unfortunately, the necessary capital, experience, and know-how are not at the Polish side's disposal. If, to compound the problem, our rivals enjoy the protective intervention of the German Government, they simply have an easier task to do. In such a situation, it is hard to try to convince importers and exporters that they should ship their cargo via Gdynia, when it is likely that the customs and excise office will take up to two weeks to clear it. From this viewpoint, it is reasonable to claim that it is not the ports of respective countries that compete against one another: It is the economies of the respective countries that do.

[Kreft] Recently, Gdynia Port has recorded good economic results. However, it seems that Gdynia will have to face a fairly radical change in its mode of operation. Experts insist that it is high time for Polish ports to begin to earn money by providing a wider range of services than just transshipment. What do you think of that?

[Czartowski] I agree. Some quality changes have already taken place in Gdynia Port, although we may not have noticed them, remaining as we did in "fossilized" structures—for example, in the sphere of port operations technology. Furthermore, the structure of the commodities being transshipped has changed completely. Coal and metal ore has largely been replaced by general cargo and containers. This change creates new possibilities for us. Several years ago, 20 percent of cargo arrived at the port by rail, and 80 percent by road. Today the proportions are exactly reversed. The maritime transport on the Baltic has changed, too. Ferry traffic is beginning to dominate the scene. In this situation, the lack of a road link between the port and its backup facilities via the already notorious, unfinished Kwiatkowski Route affects the port's survival chances. All ferry line owners interested in extending their routes to Gdynia begin talks by asking when that particular route will be ready. At the same time, one-third of the port's gross profits come from the container terminal. Consequently, the Kwiatkowski Route must be completed in a year or two.

[Kreft] You have mentioned fossilized structures and the need for change and restructuring. That term is all too often used as a slogan. Restructuring, privatization.... But what for? Can you give me sensible and clear reasons why we need them?

[Czartowski] Certainly the port's restructuring should not be pursued as a form of art for art's sake. It should not consist only in a change of administrative system for the sake of change alone. There are at least two major reasons that it should be done. The serious underfinancing of our ports lies at the root of the first of these reasons. For many years, there was no outlay on modernization. The main effort was put into keeping the enterprise afloat, and it functioned after a fashion. The second reason is this: The technology of port operations is changing, and we must somehow adjust to the changes; otherwise, it will transpire that there is no work for us any longer. The causal connection here is quite simple: To increase the port's economic results, its operations must be reorganized.

[Kreft] Is the port being carved up because small is beautiful?

[Czartowski] Because the decentralized administrative system makes it possible to achieve better work results from the many people employed in the port. In a massive system, these things tend to be overlooked. The precise nature of these changes has been discussed in writing many times.

[Kreft] Exactly. In contrast to Gdansk, there are not many employee joint-partnership companies in Gdynia. You are staking your bet on large firms with 150-200 billion zlotys [Z] in joint stock. Why is that?

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[Czartowski] A port needs a lot of capital invested in it. To invest, you must attract investors. We are not going to be able to manage with just our own profits. The investors can be either Polish or foreign firms. We would naturally prefer the former, but we all know what the average capital capacity of a Polish firm is. However, our candidates should be firms that will not want to invest in particular sections of the port merely to make quick profits from it. We are interested in attracting investors who will, for example, treat our port as an integral element of the transportation route of the cargo they service. Then they will be likely to treat Gdynia seriously. Only such partners can guarantee that the port will develop. And that is the whole secret of the transformations.

[Kreft] What is the port administrator's role in these transformations?

[Czartowski] We are preparing sections of the port to function as good partners. We want to equip them sufficiently for their future progress so that their eventual development comes as a natural process. But, at the same time, we must make sure that development is kept at a steady pace.

[Kreft] All that is very well, but we all know that, even if the container terminal were to develop without any problems, certain sectors responsible for transshipping general cargo can be expected to face many difficulties. And that is precisely where the largest number of people work.

[Czartowski] I have no fears about the future progress of the container and grain terminals. But the throughput of conventional general cargo is indeed falling. The bulk of the general cargo transshipped by us nowadays is steel. There is only one way to prevent personnel reductions, especially because I promised not to lay people off, and that is to provide more services in Gdynia Port than were available previously. We should not think of the port exclusively in terms of a transsshipping service in which the cargo gets unloaded from one means of transport and loaded onto another. We must also process goods here, package them, create distribution centers, and organize customs and excise warehouses, storage facilities, and a free-trade zone—all this in order to earn money. Examples of such services are already being planned: We are holding talks with foreign contractors on setting up a coffee-roasting plant at the port and on organizing a Central European distribution center for cotton goods manufactured by large Chinese firms....

[Kreft] You have been talking about the need to introduce strategic joint administration of the ports of Gdansk and Gdynia. What role do you envisage for Gdynia in this scheme?

[Czartowski] The development program for the ports aims to have firms pursuing different types of operations active on their premises. It will be so in Gdansk and Gdynia. I expect that eventually there will be hundreds of such firms here. They will be set up, and some of them will collapse. In talking about integration, I was thinking of joint administration and joint strategic planning. I believe this will happen sooner or later because it is financially attractive. Today the ports are competing with each other in the sphere in which they each have similar capacities. It is meaningless to debate whether we should develop a container base in Gdansk and an oil transshipment facility in Gdynia. Among other things, it is meaningless because we cannot afford such capital investment projects.

The fundamental factor that defines the difference between the two ports is the limits of their territorial development. Gdynia has a very limited expansion capacity. Consequently, it must place its bets on a different type of development than that chosen for Gdansk, on a highly profitable services sector.

[Kreft] Thank you for talking with us.

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Radio Reports NATO Air Strike Against Army

LD1508193294 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Muslim Radio Bosna, broadcasting from central Bosnia, reported that NATO planes bombed Muslim positions in the Visoko area northeast of Sarajevo two days ago. On this occasion 16 soldiers of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were killed and scores wounded. This was the reason General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army, had an urgent meeting yesterday.

Muslim forces had been launching fierce attacks against Serb areas, and when Gen. Rose warned them to stop the offensive, the Muslim command did not respond. This was the reason for the air strike launched by NATO planes.

Abdic Fails To Appear at Talks; Bihac Shelled

AU1508155794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[Text] The region of Bihac was targeted by the joint aggressor today. Along all the front lines in the theater of operations of the 5th Corps, Karadzic's Chetniks used infantry and antiaircraft weapons and artillery pieces (?for shelling), (?while) occasional and indiscriminate shelling was carried out on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau and the Bihac section of the front. Provocations were constantly carried out along the lines of separation with the remainder of the paramilitary formations of the war criminal Fikret Abdic, while new regroupings and attacks on the defense lines toward (?Sturlic) and the free regions of (Todorovo) and (?Pecigrad) are still being carried out in [word indistinct] at [word indistinct].

Negotiations between the civilian authorities of the [name indistinct] District and the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Fikret Abdic (?fighters) [word indistinct] forces were organized last night. As usual, Abdic did not appear at the talks. (?They) are still not giving up their ideas and are demanding some [word indistinct] and divisions of the region into south and north, allegedly after the Mostar (?model).

Serbian Forces To Observe Anti-Sniper Agreement

LD1508142694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Zvornik, Bratunac, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—All units of the army of the Serb republic [VRS] will consistently observe the agreement on ending sniper activities in the region of Sarajevo, VRS military sources told TANJUG today.

The commitment is reiterated by an order issued by the VRS command to its units deployed in the Sarajevo area to end all sniper fire, as outlined by yesterday's agreement. However, VRS circles have been drawing attention to an increase in unprovoked sniper activity from the part of Sarajevo under Muslim control and to the fact that Muslim units have failed to end their engineering work designed to move them closer to Serb territory and that they have stepped up their offensive activity and provocations.

High-ranking [Bosnian] Serb military sources stressed that representatives of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and UN military observers have been given detailed reports about this and about a very strong Muslim offensive in the region of Sarajevo, which has been going on for over 10 days now.

UNPROFOR representatives, among others, have ineffectually been drawing attention to a Muslim offensive launched from the direction of Breza, Vares, and Olovo against the Ilijas and Nisici plateau. In addition, there is growing evidence of Muslim aggressive activities elsewhere, and especially against Serb defensive positions on Mt. Majevica, near Brcko, and in the regions of Trebava, Ozren, Doboj, Teslic, and Vlasic, Serb military sources said.

Ignoring all efforts to find a solution by political means, and despite the embargo, the Muslim side has been intensively arming itself. It is noted that the Washington agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation enhances this process, so that arms, ammunition, and military equipment are reaching the Muslim army with practically no obstacles.

Serb military sources specify that the ports of Split and Ploce are being used for that purpose, as well as some UNPROFOR members, especially the Turkish contingent of the blue helmets in Zenica. The Serb side has information that UNPROFOR's Turkish unit has brought much larger amounts of weapons, ammunition, and other equipment than they themselves need.

Serb republic army circles claim that armored and other vehicles and military equipment belonging to UNPROFOR's Turkish unit—originally painted white—are being painted over olive-gray and are being placed at the disposal of the Muslim forces in Zenica.

This is why a sharp protest was sent last week to the UN Security Council and UNPROFOR's command for the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but no official response has been received.

Sarajevo Airlift Resumes After Sniper Agreement

AU1608083594 Paris AFP in English 0809 GMT 16 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 16 (AFP)—The humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo resumed Tuesday after being suspended for nearly 27 days because of sniper attacks on UN planes, the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

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announced. UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said the first plane, chartered by Britain, landed at 0700 GMT.

The airlift, on which the 380,000 residents of the Serb-besieged Bosnian capital are almost totally dependent for their supplies, was suspended on July 20 after five planes were hit by gunfire. It resumed for only three hours on August 5 just before NATO planes struck Serb targets and again for two days last week before being suspended again because of sniper fire on two planes.

A total of 15 UNHCR planes are expected to touch down Tuesday at Sarajevo airport where the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] hopes to arrange patrols with the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army on one side of the runway and Bosnian Serb forces on the other side.

On Sunday, Sarajevo's Bosnian Serb besiegers and the Moslem-led Bosnian Government signed a new agreement banning snipers who recently resumed deadly attacks on civilians after a break of several months. The two sides also pledged verbally to stop shooting at planes bringing food into the Bosnian capital.

Signatories promised "to publicly give orders in the next 24 hours to explicitly prohibit sniper activities against military personnel, civilians and UN staff in the Sarajevo region," the accord said. It was the second anti-sniper agreement in two weeks. A similar accord agreed in principle 12 days ago failed to hold.

Serbian Violations of Sniper Agreement Reported

AU1608090894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Aug 94

[Text] Since yesterday noon when the antisniper agreement came in force in Sarajevo, therefore, in less than 24 hours, the aggressor has violated the agreement on 15 occasions, the Information Service of the 1st Corps reports.

The Chetniks have opened sniper fire at Hrasno Brdo, Vojnicko Polje, [word indistinct] homes in Nedzarici, (?Badivode), at [words indistinct] in Hrasno, the spring in Zabrdje, Grdonj, Dobrinja Five, and on the lines of defense in (?Latica) near [word indistinct].

Beside sniper fire, the aggressor has also been opening infantry fire along the entire line of separation and has been firing rifle grenades and throwing hand grenades.

The aggressor continues to bring and concentrate troops within the Sarajevo exclusion zone. A convoy of military vehicles travelled on Trebevic-Vrapca-Vojkovic route. We have also noted that the enemy is fortifying his positions.

Karadzic, Seselj Meet To Discuss Blockade

AU1508133194 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 94 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Karadzic and Koljevic Held Talks With Seselj"]

[Text] Pale, 13 August—A meeting of Serbian Radical Party President Vojislav Seselj and his assistants and president of the Serbian republic Radovan Karadzic and president of the peoples' assembly Momcilo Krajisnik unexpectedly took place in Pale this evening. The participants discussed the problems connected to the latest blockade between the FRY and the Serbian republic.

Karadzic Says 'We Will Survive' Without FRY

MM1608110894 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Editorial Report] London BBC Television Network in English at 2130 GMT on 15 August, during the BBC "Newsnight" program, carries a 12-minute report from correspondent David Sells in Bosnia, on broken agreements on sniping in Sarajevo—including an interview with Bosnian Serb leader Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

The report opens with shots of the remains of 1984 Winter Olympics bobsled run in the hills overlooking Sarajevo, and a Bosnian Serb encampment in the woods overlooking Sarajevo. The report includes brief remarks by Bosnian Serb soldiers, including their commanding officer, Major Radomir Kojic, who says: People know what this latest plan means—losing everything; we might as well have not started in the first place and let the Muslims have what they wanted. But the army and people here trust Milosevic and they believe that the blockade won't last for long.

The report continues with further shots of the encampment and shots of army personnel taking part in gathering the harvest.

Karadzic begins speaking in Serbo-Croatian fading to English translation: "We will survive, we have survived for four years. The First World War we survived for four years, the Second World War, without any help from Serbia or any other country. As a matter of fact, there has been some help at the end of the war, but we will survive, we have a good economy, we have good agriculture, we have power, electricity, we have enough food, we have some weapons factories, we have good reserves."

Sells then asks: "What about fuel, what about petrol, oil?"

Karadzic replies: "We have good reserves for fuel, and you can trade with your enemies. If you have money you can get everything."

Report then shows Dr. Karadzic's Pale headquarters where visitors from both sides, including General Rose, came to discuss the UN sniper deal and shows the discussion taking place, then shows a later meeting with Stoltenberg, principle UN mediator.

Karadzic continues: "I am pessimistic because the contact group is very passive. They have done a very bad job, they are behaving as an arbitration commission, although nobody accepted any arbitration, and they are behaving in a manner of ultimatum to the Serbs. We did not take part in this [word indistinct] of this map, they

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just said some talks, informative talks with Serbian side. They never accepted any Serbian suggestion, they never have taken Serbs seriously, from Mr Vance to this contact group. We are not taken seriously. We say we want our own state."

The video shows street scenes in Pale, including street markets with a plentiful supply of food.

The report then shows gates to Bosnian-Serb liaison office in Belgrade, which were locked, a reflection of President Milosevic's determination to isolate Karadzic.

The report continues with an interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, who says: "This is the reason why I personally think that approaching them from the menacing side is not at all productive. You cannot menace somebody who decided to die with additional death. This is counterproductive, it can only reinforce them in their conviction that they are martyrs for the right cause."

Sells then asks Karadzic: "Why should President Milosevic give up on you and dub you, as he has done, you and your leadership, as traitors to the Serbian cause?"

Karadzic replies: "Well, I understand they are angry, we are not angry, but we know what we can do, and we know exactly we cannot defeat ourselves. We understand that they can't follow us, we don't understand why they are angry."

The report then shows Vojislav Seselj, leader of Serbian Radical Party, who says [with English translation]: "Milosevic thinks the Americans will help him, but they will just use him as much as they can to get their way over the Bosnian Serbs, and then they will simply dump him. There will be no prettier scalp on Clinton's belt for his next election in America than the scalp of President Milosevic."

Report continues with extensive shots of UN food convoys.

Karadzic continues: "We are million and five hundred thousand population, we have our own resources, God is with us, not with them, that is why we are succeeding and I will tell you if the Americans unilaterally lift the arms embargo with Moslems, then the United Nations are finished. We would not respect any UN resolution because United Nations would be broken."

Report concludes with shots of Sell's meeting farming folk near Pale.

Assembly To Discuss Blockade on 18 Aug

LD1508163094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—The people's assembly of the Bosnian Serb republic will hold a regular session in Pale on 18 August at which the appointments of the new government members are expected to be ratified, SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] reports, citing sources from the office of the Assembly president speaker. The session is scheduled to begin at 1000. SRNA has learned that one of the points on the agenda will be a debate on the situation resulting from the introduction of the economic and political blockade against the Serb republic by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

General Stresses Equal Rights for Bosnian Serbs

LD1508202894 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] A victorious people and army cannot lose at the negotiating table what they won in their struggle in a war imposed on them, Lieutenant Colonel General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the Serb republic army's main headquarters, told [Bosnian] Serb TV's Sarajevo studio yesterday evening.

We want peace on a permanent basis—peace which takes into account the Serb nation's interests and the results of our just struggle, Gen. Gvero stressed. He said that, according to the situation on the ground, the Serb republic has a compact territory inhabited by the majority of the Serb population in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as significant economic resources and favorable military positions. He said that, by accepting the Contact Group's plan, the Serbs would have to give up huge territories—mainly traditionally Serb-inhabited areas. This would also mean that the Serb republic territory could be relatively easily fragmented. This particularly applies to the case of Kljuc on one side and Jajce and Vlasic on the other, as well as in Posavina where the Serb territory is severed near Brcko, while a long and narrow corridor is very vulnerable, General Gvero explained.

According to Gvero, the [Bosnian] Serb nation should have all the rights enjoyed by other nations. He said that the war was imposed on the Serbs when these rights were denied them and that the only logical response was a just and necessary struggle—therefore, self-defense, which, according to Gvero, is the source of our strength, our fighting spirit, and all our successes in the struggle leading to a final peace.

Islamic Community Leaders Meet in Travnik

94BA0368B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Jul 94 p 5

[Article by Zdravko Latal: "Mixed Marriages and Miniskirts"]

[Text] *The Islamic Religious Community noted that the preference for so-called Bosnian Islam is a deception that allows violating certain Islamic regulations.*

From our associate.

Sarajevo, 15 Jul—Was the miniskirt condemned at the second meeting of the Islamic Religious Community's governing body [rijaset]? If it was, that will be a great offense against men's eyes. The best thing in wartime Sarajevo—women—will be hidden from the world.

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More interesting than the ban on baring Sarajevo residents and the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, is the fate of mixed marriages in the opinion of the Islamic Religious Community and the shariat [Islamic law] lawyers. It is true that religion and the state are separate in this area, but if a religious degree [fatwa] is issued, in the present situation, in which many people have returned to religion, either genuinely or because of other interests, it will be a state regulation or the kind that is observed more than a state one.

At the second session of the Islamic Religious Community's rijaset, which was in Travnik instead of Gorazde, Reis-ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric and his muftis—the leaders of the Islamic Religious Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina who were able to come to vizier Travnik under wartime conditions—adopted several important decisions for the future life of Bosnians, Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the broader Balkan area, or will adopt them. At that religious gathering, according to a communique, they noted that the Muslim people was exposed to constant aggression by the Serbian-Montenegrin fascist hordes and traitors at home (it does not say exactly is considered a traitor besides Fikret Abdic, who has been previously named as a traitor by the Islamic Religious Community). In addition to all the terrors of war, there are attempts to destroy the moral fabric of Bosnians from within, which have been particularly prevalent recently. This has to do with the preference for Bosnian Islam, which means tolerating the violation of certain Islamic norms and regulations, for example permitting the use of alcohol, prostitution, pornography, the display of skin, and so forth, with explanations that Muslims can only come to Europe with those cultural habits, since this proves that they are not fundamentalists. From the meeting in Travnik, the rijaset called upon Muslims not to yield to the perfidious deceptions, regardless of who announces them. The rijaset is reminding believers that only consistent acceptance and fulfillment of Islamic regulations can protect Muslims from all temptations.

Not only the Serbs, but also the Croatian side in the future federation and tomorrow the possible confederation, will be interested in one more decision by the highest Islamic religious leadership. There will be no forgiveness for the murderers of 50 imams and those who have destroyed mosques or ordered their destruction. Criminal proceedings will be initiated against all of them as soon as it is possible. People in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina were waiting with particular attention to see how the Islamic Community would react to the polemics that have been going on for more than a month about the future of mixed marriages. To put it in sports terms, the civil option is now leading the rigid national one three to one. The news has come from Travnik that they are discussing mixed marriages, but have not yet adopted a decision, and that a commission of high-level shariat lawyers [ksehiki] has been established to study this issue from all standpoints and give a proposed decree to the Reis-ul-Ulema. Reis Mustafa Ceric emphasized that the Islamic Religious Community was separate from the state, and that it was an independent community that was responsible for Islamic religious life in Bosnia-Herzegovina and outside it for all Bosnians, but that he expected that the state authorities would respect its requests.

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Demonstrators To Lift Blockade of UNPROFOR

AU1508134794 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 15 (AFP)—A six-week blockade by demonstrators of checkpoints manned by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Croatia is to be lifted on Tuesday [16 August], organisers announced here Monday. The blockade of several of the 21 checkpoints, between government-held and Serb-held territory in the Serb-dominated Krajina region of Croatia, was launched as a protest by Croat refugees who want the UN to force the Serbs to allow them to return home. Croatian Serbs hold up to a third of Croatian territory. UNPROFOR accused the Croatian Government of unofficially backing the protestors, and on Friday the UN Security Council called on Zagreb to end the blockade.

RSK Foreign Minister on UN, Serbian Graves

LD1508131694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 15 (TANJUG)—Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) foreign minister Milan Babic Monday [15 August] said it is impossible that United Nations Special Human Rights Envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki is unaware of the existence of mass Serb graves in western Slavonija.

In a letter to U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali Babic said that Mazowiecki was recently asked by Croatian weekly FERAL TRIBJUN about the mass graves in Pakracka Poljana and Marino Selo, western Slavonija.

In the period from October 1992-March 1992, 2,500 Serb civilians were killed in these localities.

"Mazowiecki failed to answer, while his assistant Roman Vishnevski asked where Pakracka Poljana is and when did all that happen and concluded that Mazowiecki did not have his mandate at the time," Babic said.

He said that the RSK Foreign Ministry "in a bid to avoid possible misunderstandings," on August 23, 1993 sent to the U.N. general secretary a copy of a file on Serb mass graves in western Slavonija compiled by the Serbian Council, a non-government organization from Belgrade.

Copies were also sent to all diplomatic and consular offices in Belgrade, including the U.N. information centre, and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Cornelio Sommaruga, and the General Secretary for Human Rights at the Geneva U.N. seat, Ibrahim Fal.

As far as we are aware, the file is an official U.N. document and it is impossible that Mazowiecki is ignorant of the mass graves in Pakracka Poljana and Marino Selo, Babic said.

He said that Mazowiecki has once again shown his biased attitude and wish to pardon Croatia for committing genocide against the Serbs during the republic's violent secession which killed at least 14,000 Serb civilians and over drove away 300,000 Serbs.

RSK was proclaimed by the local Serbs in 1991 in their ancestral lands in former Croatia in response to it secession from the then Yugoslav Federation of the loss of their status of a constitutive nation.

Latest UN Statement Viewed 'With Regret'

LD1208140394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Croatia has learned with regret of the latest UN Security Council presidential statement.

The concern of the overall Croatian public, particularly of refugees, is even greater because on the same day the Serb aggressor based in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina again launched an attack on sovereign Croatian territory. This is an intolerable act of provocation aimed at thwarting all peace efforts by the international community. Even though the Croatian Government has already issued several warnings about this, the Security Council has not yet reacted appropriately, the government statement says.

Reiterating that it is ready to solve all outstanding issues in relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] through negotiations with the United Nations, the Croatian Government welcomes those parts of the presidential statement which confirm the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes, and again points at the support lent by the Security Council to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

By failing to react appropriately to yet another open act of aggression and by simultaneously giving prominence to certain difficulties in UNPROFOR's work by mentioning them in a presidential statement, some institutions and individuals within the United Nations wish to put additional pressure on Croatia because of its decision to collect monies owned to it by UNPROFOR and because they want the speedier opening up of the remaining checkpoints where refugees are justifiably demanding that they be allowed to return to their homes.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia considers this form of pressure inappropriate, particularly since talks on the permanent overcoming of the aforementioned difficulties have entered their final phase.

Once again expressing its regret over the inappropriate statement, and warning of the adverse reactions it will have in the Croatian public and among the refugees, the Government of the Republic of Croatia wishes to warn that the Protection Force must implement its tasks, which are based on UN Security Council resolutions, in a more systematic and consistent way. The Croatian Government's statement about the latest UN Security Council presidential statement says that in this respect

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the latest announcement by Yasushi Akashi about a proposed return of refugees to parts of the southern and northern sectors has been received with interest.

Conflicts in Veterans Associations Viewed

94BA0374D Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 94 pp 26-27

[Article by Vjeko Kovacevic: "Veterans of the Homeland War: Associations for Dissension"]

[Text] Cynics say that Croatia will soon have more associations of volunteers and veterans of the homeland war than the real number of participants. Because the most difficult days of the war are a relatively distant past, there are more and more volunteers and participants. It is a bit reminiscent of stories about SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] some 10 years ago or so, whose membership was increasing on the basis of two witnesses even 40 years after the end of World War II, refuting even the laws of biology. That is, the Association of Croatian Veterans of the Homeland War estimates that about 300,000 citizens of Croatia took part in the homeland war, and Tomislav Mercep mentions the figure of 100,000 volunteers, a number that would account for only his faction of the volunteers associations, obviously without any kind of firm criteria. Unfortunately, the awarding of the Commemorative Medal of the Homeland War 1990-92 even to some people who were mobilized last year and spent 10 days in military exercises also indicates the subsequent strengthening of the veteran syndrome. This offends those who were the real volunteers, who participated in defense of Croatia in the days when this was most difficult, not as veterans who participated "by correspondence" from offices or standing at a bar.

An Ever Deeper Gap

However, a much bigger problem with these associations, which in formal terms are all civic associations of individuals, is more relevant. Instead of being organizations which on the basis of experiences in the homeland war are contributing to strengthening Croatia's combat readiness, helping their members and the families of the defenders who died in various ways, and gathering material on the aggression against Croatia and on the defense, they are more and more becoming associations that represent dissension. The greatest problem is certainly what is happening to the volunteers, whose association has split into two parts, and the split and the conflicts are becoming bigger and bigger. We know that even then some of the membership and delegates supported Zvonimir Trusic, who has been president up to now, or the newly elected president, Branko Borkovic, a brigadier in the Croatian Army and a legend in the defense of Vukovar. Some supported Tomislav Mercep, until then the honorary president, and he was supported by both the state media and local organizations of the incumbent party, as well as the top officers of the Croatian Army, who regularly attended meetings of Mercep's volunteers in their official uniform, and they were introduced as emissaries of the president of the republic. Recently, Nedeljko Mihanovic, president of the Croatian Assembly, received Tomislav Mercep and representatives of his association, and a few weeks ago Branko Borkovic and representatives of the other associations of veteran volunteers were received by Cardinal Franjo Kuharic. Because some of the members of both associations are employed in the Defense Ministry and General Staff, or are effective officers of the Croatian Army, Brigadier Ivan Tolj, chief of the Political Administration of the Defense Ministry, is obviously right in considering that he had good reason to write a reminder to all officials of military institutions that the associations are civic organizations, and membership in them is a private matter, and accordingly they should join them as private individuals, by no means as officials of the Croatian Army. He was probably also driven to this by the fact that individuals used not only official vehicles of the Defense Ministry, but even helicopters, to attend meetings of volunteers where Tomislav Mercep was present. However, we have learned unofficially that that practice did not stop even after Tolj's demand-warning, because it is obvious that things like that are being permitted by those who are more powerful and influential than the chief of the Political Administration.

Political Struggle

Individuals employed in the General Staff who support Tomislav Mercep's association have even demanded suspension of Brig. Branko Borkovic, who holds a high post in the General Staff, because he accepted the post of president of a volunteers organization which opposes Mercep's association. But the height of arrogance was the written demand to Corps General Janko Bobetko, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, to practically eliminate from the General Staff those volunteers who did not fulfill the requirement of joining Mercep, and the final blow was the demand that he so inform Tomislav Mercep. All of this was signed by a man subordinate precisely to Gen. Bobetko, not Mercep, and those who know them all well say that due credit should be paid to the experienced soldier Bobetko for not having lost control after such acts. In addition, to this day there has been no explanation as to why, after the "love" was over between Tomislav Mercep and Zvonko Trusic, Trusic's secretary was kidnapped and brought in for an "interview" to the Defense Ministry and even physically abused. This suggests the great danger that individuals who understood the role of the volunteers and veteran associations in quite the opposite way from the way they were conceived and legally defined in Croatia and the way they operate in the rest of the world are having a direct impact on combat readiness, the absence of party politics, and creation of negative politicization of Croatian military institutions and units. That is, while the association of volunteers which has continued to operate on the basis of what the unified association did before this year's meeting in which it fell apart, which

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was precisely solving problems faced by the volunteers, above all problems of social welfare, health problems, legal problems, and so on, Mercep's association has entered upon real political struggle, politicizing itself extremely, using methods and demands more appropriate to advocates of the police state than builders of democracy. At the same time, that association has been given exceptional support by the media, and it is trying to create an impression of itself as a party-oriented association of alleged volunteers.

Personal Interests Ahead of the Interests of the State

However, it would be dishonest to conceal that they are also encountering problems and perhaps even deceptions. That is, even Tomislav Mercep—in Pazin, for example—found during a program on local radio that the interview with him or the special program was interrupted without any explanation at just the point when he was addressing the public. The divided associations are also waging a real war over who has the right to dispose of what up to now has been their bank account and telephone, and there is a story to the effect that in the Ministry of Administration, where they deal with all changes of status in public organizations, they often alter the information, the names of presidents, and so on, which is literally creating real confusion both in the Bureau for Settlements and in the Croatian Post Offices and Telecommunications.

The question that logically follows is how it is possible with these people, who have become so alienated from one another over matters which appear to be formal in nature, a nucleus which in case of need will act in a coordinated and subordinated fashion, to carry out all the demands presented them by defense of the state. That is, individuals have obviously placed personal interests and group interests ahead of interests of the state and the nation, and they are pursuing interests through the associations which have still not been altogether clarified in public, and behind them, judging by the statements, we can suspect anything at all. One gets the impression that in spite of all the public beating of the breast, it is not a question of the goals and methods which will strengthen Croatia's defensive capability and position, nor of aspirations to strengthen democracy and improve Croatia.

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Illegal Trade, Government Corruption Viewed

94BA0364A Skopje PULS in Macedonian
22 Jul 94 pp 17-18

[Article by Vasko Evtov: "Counter 'Diseases'"]

[Text] *In contrast to Pavle Trajanov's statement last year about the involvement of high government officials in criminal corruption machinations in this country, Prime Minister Crvenkovski's statement suggests that the distribution of quotas involves only some sort of subjective lapses on the part of certain counter clerks.*

By 31 December, about 50 percent of the permits to import goods that were previously under a quota system will be distributed through auctions. That government measure was preceded by several months of bitter attacks against Dimitar Belcev, under secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Relations, whenever he visited the Chamber of Commerce, in connection with the terrible machinations going on in the distribution of quotas. Even Prime Minister Crvenkovski explains the introduction of auctions as one of the alternatives to prevent the subjective elements in the former distribution of quotas. The second alternative is subsidies. It is felt that this will curtail the power that is concentrated in two ministries that are super-vulnerable to corruption: the Ministries of Foreign Economic Relations and of the Economy. On that top list, things at the Ministry of Finance are also left to be straightened out.

Admittedly, the option of introducing the instrument of auctions in trade with the rest of the world was already envisioned last year at the time of the signing of the letter of intent with the International Monetary Fund. Section 24 of that letter, which was later turned into the government's economic policy, in addition to auctions, also noted the need to reduce the number of rate categories under some sort of restrictive regime. By the way, in the first competition by means of auctions, permission will be given to import about 1,850 metric tons of various hides, about 200 tons of cigarettes containing tobacco, and even 120 tons of chocolate, for example.

Actually, if we isolate it from the whole economic package by which people are trying to explain the switch from quotas to auctions, Prime Minister Crvenkovski's statement cannot help being associated with last year's knockout announcement by Pavle Trajanov, then under secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, about some sort of organized crime in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. In contrast to Trajanov's claim that high government officials were also involved in criminal corruption machinations in this country, Crvenkovski's statement suggests that the distribution of quotas involves subjective lapses on the part of some counter clerks at the ministries, without any major government predators involved in the whole mess.

We could also include here, however, the crucial dilemma facing the whole idea of introducing the auction mechanism: how much they will help to overcome the danger of so-called counter subjectivism. Here are two examples which lead to a completely different conclusion. The Law on Foreign Commerce permits importing trucks up to five years old. The customs authorities, however, nevertheless allow importing trucks even older than five years—naturally, provided that they are included in the quota and have a special certificate signed by Under Secretary Dimitar Belcev. He is allegedly permitted to do this by the derivative regulations implementing the Law on Foreign Commerce. In any case, as we have learned, for example, proceedings have been initiated against the enterprise "Sold" to determine whether it illegally imported trucks older than five years (the proceedings against this enterprise were initiated immediately after the clash between Tortevski and Popovski on the A1 television station, when "Sold" was mentioned as a firm that was illegally importing older trucks). Actually, it is being speculated, as a public secret, that a permit to import an older truck costs 5,000 German marks [DM].

Example number two: So far about 160 either joint or entirely Serbian firms have been registered in Macedonia. Only a tenth of them, however, have received an official permit from the Foreign Ministry. The rest of them are exploiting a legal loophole: If they do not receive a response from the Foreign Ministry within 30 days, they will automatically be registered to do business in FYROM. How much will the quotas/auctions switch be able to overcome subjectivism of this caliber?

We can draw two more dilemmas from the pile. The first one is how much the government's very consideration of allowing a certain quantum of imports of specific products (regardless of whether it is through quotas or even an auction, since this only changes the packaging, while otherwise the amount remains the same) makes possible further stabilization of the domestic market. In the final analysis, what is the basic idea of such an intention? The chocolates that were formerly under a quota regime, and are now going into an auction, sometime before New Year's (when prices are inflated, as a rule) reached a price of 24 denars for a 100-gram piece. Instead of the price going down, since in the meantime the mark is stagnating and the domestic market has a sufficient supply, it has jumped to about 40 denars per 100-gram piece. On the other hand, how much the subjectivism will be eradicated by introducing auctions is an open question. Sometime in May, for example, the Ministry of Defense had issued a public advertisement worth about DM700,000 for the manufacture of military shirts, hats, overcoats.... The bids were collected, and they were naturally opened in the presence of all the interested parties. Nevertheless, the authorities at the Ministry, on the basis of certain internal documents, decided, after the best bid given by any of the participants in the competition, naturally if they wanted, to allow all the applicants to get some of the deal worth DM700,000. Then where is the logic in allowing public bidding, if the one who offers the best terms does not win the whole

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deal? In any case, the auctions will also be scheduled in accordance with a similar principle.

Essentially, many people swear that the auctions will only further dissipate the power of individuals from the extremely influential directors' lobby (at the cost of certain minor government predators) who have also shaken the Macedonian market in the past. For example, having 70-80 percent of the domestic production of certain products in their hands, and furthermore obtaining import quotas through an auction, they are completely placing the domestic market, and thus also consumers, in a stalemate position. One also has to consider in those terms the increasingly more upsetting rumors that the Skopje wholesale market, which is considered the center through which all smuggling activities in the country are directed, is controlled by two or three individuals from the very top of the top 10 most powerful directors—especially the smuggling of cigarettes, beer, and coffee, which in principle is most frequent. Even the latest decision by the government to increase taxes on automobile imports by 20 percent can feel that kind of chill. Car dealers claim that the government decision suits only those firms which have excellent communications with the authorities—i.e., a reliable customer, even in spite of the increased prices, which will not stoop to purchase only around 10-15 cars. By the way, Minister Ljubomir Frckovski is announcing the purchase of 100 new automobiles for the Interior Ministry, and it is also being announced that this time the floor-room of Asiba MG [expansion not given] will be "emptied."

In any case, these days the government is also facing the issues of subsidies. The dairy farmers are decided: either the introduction of subsidies for protection from Serbian and Bulgarian dairy competition, or else the milk will be metamorphosed into cheese. Last year, for example, the dairy farmers threatened the production of ice cream, but this year we are witnessing something that is "the worst thing that has happened to" domestic ice cream producers (the worst thing has been embodied in the importation of Snickers, Mars, or even some other foreign ice cream specialties). The government is responding to the dairy farmers' blackmail by charging the responsible ministries to find a satisfactory solution (in the third quarter, for example, the importation of not even a single liter of milk has been planned). How much was this due to the fact that this same government is now feeling less guilty that on 31 December 1993 it abolished the former special 15 percent taxes on milk imports? Nevertheless, it will be interesting to explain why the purchase price for a liter of milk in the Czech Republic, Poland, or Hungary amounts to 18-20 pfennigs, while in our country it is as much as 60 pfennigs per liter. We are actually paying the highest price for wheat in Europe. The government set a protective price for wheat at the level of 10 denars per kilogram. The Serbs, for example, reduced the price of wheat to four denars a kilogram a few days ago. The government even separately set a two-denar bonus per kilogram of wheat, and even aimed at subsidies (i.e., not allowing cheaper imports) in the amount of 5 or 7.5 denars for imports of flour and wheat. Since the "bakers" are announcing even at the start that they do not have enough money, that probably means an additional expenditure of state finances and almost certainly a new price for bread in the fall.

If it means anything: There is a certain unwritten rule that the first kittens are thrown into the water. The whole procedure of introducing subsidies and distributing quotas through auctions has to be played out first, however.

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Government Denies Trading Border Claims

94BA0368A Maribor VECER in Slovene 16 Jul 94 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Slovenia Has Not Given Up Anything"]

[Text] Last night in a public communique, the Slovene Government gave assurances once again that the basic and fundamental negotiating position of the Slovene side in the border negotiations with the Republic of Croatia consists of the provisions in the Basic Constitutional Document on the Autonomy and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia, which specifies our state borders as of 25 June 1991, and the decisions adopted by the Slovene State Assembly on 26 May 1993. At the last meeting of both delegations at Brdo pri Kranju on 8 July 1994, there was no "horse-trading" on Trdinov Vrh, Razkrizje, and some of the Sneznik forests. The government emphasizes once again that Slovenia is well-prepared for the negotiations with Croatia, with clear, coordinated, and principled positions, since that is the only appropriate method for a successful resolution of the open issues in relations with the neighboring countries, the government information office announced.

Drnovsek Comments on Maritime Border Issue

94BA0368C Trieste REPUBLIKA in Slovene 21 Jul 94 p 3

[Unattributed STA article: "Slovenia and Croatia Have Come Closer on Some Positions"]

[Text] Ljubljana—In the negotiations to date on the state border, Slovenia and Croatia have reached final negotiating positions, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek said in a Radio Slovenia broadcast from Studio 17, and summed up both sides' proposals on the course of the border in Piran Bay.

The final point to which Croatia is also willing to agree, according to the prime minister's assessment, is the line of present police control in Piran Bay. It runs 278 meters from the Savudrija coast. Another border point to which the Croats would also agree is the St. Odorik Canal. In the Croatian side's opinion, the border should then follow the new bed of the Dragonja River. The Slovene starting point, however, is the land-registry borders. According to the registers' measurement, the zone south of the Dragonja River and the St. Odorik Canal should also belong to Slovenia. According to the prime minister, it is a relatively narrow zone that both sides are claiming, but it is less important than Piran Bay. In the negotiations, Slovenia is proceeding from the provisions of the constitutional law—the point of Slovenia's sovereignty upon the establishment of sovereignty on 25 June 1991. "That narrow line would mean in practice that Croatia can control a very narrow zone along the Savudrija coast. Slovenia, however, would have control over the entire Savudrija Bay, over the predominant part of the Bay," Drnovsek thought.

The prime minister emphasized that the differences in the two countries' positions are much greater on the other disputed issue, access to the open sea. "Specifically, Croatia is offering a certain straight line, that would run from the line of police control to the open sea, but that line would not allow Slovenia direct territorial access to the open sea." In this case, Croatia is offering Slovenia free access, free navigation and fishing, "in short, full use of the sea and air," but not of the seabed, the prime minister said. It would not be Slovene territory, but rather a wide zone through which Slovenia would have free access to the open sea. Slovenia is insisting on direct territorial access, with a different line.

According to Drnovsek, there are still considerable differences in the two sides' positions, but they are closer than they were. The new Croatian proposal is an extreme Croatian position that the Croatian side has not yet verified at home, he emphasized.

In response to a question about the proposal from the State Assembly's Committee on International Relations about a border on the Mirna River, Drnovsek answered that the government had not responded to it because it interpreted it as exacerbating Slovenia's starting point in the negotiations. The Croatian side could thus realize that there were also extremist positions in Slovenia and that the problem would be exacerbated even further if there were no willingness for a negotiated settlement. According to the prime minister, however, parliament will have to change the constitutional law if it wants a border on the Mirna. "The Croats would probably interpret that as Slovene territorial claims against Croatia, which would probably make everything worse," he emphasized.

So far in the negotiations, neither side has agreed to any kind of binding proposal, the prime minister emphasized. According to him, there are three possible solutions for the border issue. The first solution is signing an agreement on the border with Croatia, and the second is that the border would be determined by international arbitration, but the danger of that solution is that the two sides have to agree with its decisions in advance, and Slovenia does not know whether that settlement will be better than the Croatian proposal. The third possibility, which Drnovsek considers the worst, is the status quo. That means an unsettled situation with Croatia and the possibility of constant incidents.

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Federal

Turkish Support for 'Separatists' Protested

LD1508192894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] New York, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—The UN headquarters today published as an official document the Yugoslav Government's protest to the Turkish Government over its support for Sandzak Muslim separatists.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry's note, forwarded to the Turkish Embassy in Belgrade and to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, particularly protests at the organizing of a symposium of the "Muslim National Council of Sandzak," the holding of which was enabled by the Turkish authorities on 28 July in Ankara.

The note says that the symposium was organized by a "self-styled leader" of Sandzak Muslims, to whom the Turkish authorities had given refuge and enabled him to carry out "destructive and hostile activities against Yugoslavia, despite a Yugoslav warrant for his arrest."

Stances representing an assault on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia were voiced at the Sandzak separatists' meeting, the Yugoslav note says.

"The Yugoslav Government demands that the Turkish Government take resolute measures and prevent the activities of Sandzak separatists on Turkish territory."

Serbia

Belgrade Radio Denounces Bosnian Serb Leadership

AU1508212494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Thorvald Stoltenberg, the UN secretary general's envoy, has once again confirmed what Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had said regarding the Contact Group's peace plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—namely that the maps are not final, that they could be altered in future negotiations, and that territories could be exchanged. This was stated in a Belgrade Television commentary broadcast this evening. If the peace process is to continue now, the proposed maps should be accepted. If they are not accepted, the peace process will stop, which could be dangerous for peace in the former Yugoslavia, in the Balkans, and Europe. So, it is clear what this is all about. It only appears that the leadership in Pale thinks that no one understands the peace plan except them, not even those who drafted it.

However, the facts are absolutely clear. Therefore, the question prepared by the assembly of the Serbian republic for the referendum unequivocally shows what the leadership of the Serbian republic is using and what it wants to achieve. The referendum question is not whether you accept the peace plan, but whether you accept the maps proposed by the Contact Group. So, the people are supposed to vote on something that is not final, something that will probably be more or less changed. This is a clear example of how the leadership in Pale is manipulating the citizens of the Serbian republic, how it is deceiving and fooling the people to accept or reject something that is still unknown, instead of asking them whether they are for peace or war.

The people are thus impudently lied to. The citizens of the Serbian republic are being mislead to their own detriment, to the detriment of peace in the Balkans and this part of Europe. An attempt is being made to divert the people of the Serbian republic and the entire Serbian nation from the only right way, which is to accept the proposed maps and continue the peace process in which all contentious issues will be dealt with in the way that Serbian President Milosevic stressed in his statement and as Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and the UN secretary general's envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg have confirmed.

What and who are still not clear about this after all that? It appears that only the top leadership of the Serbian republic in Pale and those who do not draw a clear distinction or have never understood the difference between a defense war and a war of conquest, those who do not understand that there is a big difference between the support and help for a defensive war against genocide and the equality of the Serbian people with the Muslim and Croatian peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a war of conquest do not understand this.

The leadership of the Serbian republic should understand that the creation of the Serbian republic on one half of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has achieved the just aim. It was, of course, worth fighting for that. This deserved the support and the help of the Serbian people in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This was both just and necessary. However, if they want more than this, if they want to take away from other people what they are demanding themselves, then this is no longer a defensive war but a war of conquest. The Serbian people have never waged such wars, they have never subjugated other peoples. Those who want to do this now could not face the Serbian people honorably. They would be criminals, they would taint the character of the entire Serbian nation.

Therefore, Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia favor the acceptance of the Contact Group's peace plan. The least we could have expected from the brothers from the other side of the Drina River in return for generous help, self-denials, and sacrifices was that they do without hesitation what was necessary for the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Daily: Rare Appearances Confirm Tudjman 'Ill'

AU1508161594 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 94 p 3

[Report by "Sl.P": "Tudjman Seriously Ill"]

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[Text] As VECERNJE NOVOSTI has learned, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is really seriously ill and is still on the Brioni islands. It is rumored that, along with a heart attack, he has again suffered a minor stroke. However, official Croatian circles are not admitting to this; they are ineptly controlling all information and are trying to portray the president as healthy and well. The fact that Dr. Tudjman is appearing very selectively and only for a few seconds on the television also confirms these manipulations. He reportedly received some ambassadors in Brioni three days ago. In a TV report on this event, Tudjman appeared for merely half a second.

Biographic Information on Minister Sokolovic

94BA0382B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 94 p 15

[Article by Dejan Anastasijevic: "Image and Deed: Zoran Sokolovic, Minister of Internal Affairs of Republic of Serbia"]

[Text] Year and place of birth: 1938, Lepene, Knjazevac Opstina.

Education: Completed School of Agriculture in Zemun.

When and how he entered politics: From the position of director of the Vucje Agricultural Collective, in 1964 (member of the League of Communists [LC] since 1960). After two years of "socio-political work" in various opstina functions in the provinces, he became a member of the Central Committee. During the Eighth Session was chairman of the interopstina conference of the Serbian LC, and afterward he became a storm trooper of the "antibureaucratic revolution" (distinguishing himself especially at a rally in Novi Sad). After that, chairman of the one-party republican assembly. After the first multiparty elections, leader of the Socialist Party caucus (electoral district: Leposavic).

How he became police minister: After the demonstration of 9 March 1991, replaced Radmilo Bogdanovic, whose resignation was forced by the opposition.

What he said on that occasion: "I have always taken on new work.... For me, this is a special challenge."

When his position was first disputed: At the same Assembly session where he was elected, on 30 May 1991. At the time, it was concluded from an inspection of the minutes that he did not receive the necessary number of votes to become a member of the government. Through a subsequent listening to the tape recording, the "misplaced" votes were nevertheless found, and Sokolovic's election was confirmed.

What he is noted for: His native accent and pronunciation (soft tj and gj), and his empty speech; he pays no attention to grammar, but almost never fails to allow something from petrified bureaucratic phraseology to creep into the content of his speeches. Typical examples: "The impudence, brutality, and heedlessness of criminals, of street resellers, and other persons inclined to deviant behavior is coming to an end. There is no reason for a psychosis of fear, anxiety, and a sense of endangerment among the citizens" (on this year's Security Day), and "Let me also say that there is much information indicating that it is almost impossible to establish telephone connections with certain parts of Croatia, because the telephone and other lines are down" (June 1991, after the first serious armed incidents in Glina and Borovo Selo). Finally, he is noted as the least involved in the work of his own ministry among all the members of the government, contenting himself with the role of "citizen who is present merely by chance" (Inspector Mladenovic) and leaving all important decisions up to his predecessor, Bogdanovic. Perhaps for that reason, he has remained in his position for three years, while four Serbian prime ministers have been "consumed" in that period.

Why the opposition sought his resignation: The first time in December 1991, because during an Assembly session he addressed Zoran Horvan of the Serbian Renewal Movement, who was trying to find out how much the president of the republic was paid, saying: "What are you talking about, you idiot!" The second time because of the occupation of the Federal SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs] building by the republic police in October 1992. The third time because of the arrest and beating of Vuk and Danica Draskovic in June 1993. The fourth time in October of the same year, when employees of his ministry, "in self-defense," beat up actress Nadezda Bulatovic in a line for flour. Finally, last week after a group of powerful young people about whom it is not completely clear to which service they belong "helped" deputies of the Serbian Radical Party to leave the Assembly hall.

When Sokolovic wrote out his resignation: At the end of 1992, when Milan Panic was running for the Serbian presidency, in the event that Milosevic lost the election.

How he reacts to criticism: "I have a soul and a heart and it is hard to listen to such charges and insinuations" (during debate on the Law on Internal Affairs); "It was not over night, it was done in the morning" (in response to a question concerning the occupation of the Federal SUP building); he publicly apologized to Nadezda Bulatovic "in the name of the Service and as a fellow citizen" and gave her his "word of honor that neither he nor members of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] will attempt to hush up or conceal the truth." Despite that, the disciplinary commission concluded that the policemen who beat up Ms. Bulatovic did not overstep their authorities.

Is it true that Sokolovic recently said: "I will remain minister of internal affairs and a member of the service as long as I am living"? Not true. Radmilo Bogdanovic said that last week in POLITIKA EKSPRES.

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Biographic Data on SRS Leader Nikolic

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[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Image and Deed: Tomislav Nikolic, Vice Chairman of Serbian Radical Party"]

[Text] Date and place of birth: 15 February 1952, Kragujevac.

Basic biographical data: Completed technical school, major in civil engineering. Participated in athletics. Before he became a politician, worked at "Zegrap" on the Belgrade-Bar line, and later advanced to the post of department chief for investment and maintenance at the Municipal Enterprise in Kragujevac, which means that he was directly concerned with Kragujevac cemeteries. The nickname "Zdrale" [Crane] stuck with him from his days as an athlete, because he was "terribly thin." Later, when he was working with the municipal enterprise, the wags called him "Toma Grobar" [Tom the Gravedigger]. From the moment when he became one of the most important deputies in the Serbian Assembly he gained a somewhat more subtle nickname: "the Pantelija Topalovic of the Serbian parliament." Anticommunist. A religious man, but he says that he does not want to make a spectacle of that.

How he entered politics: He was initially a member of the People's Radical Party [NRS]. In February 1991, he and Vojislav Seselj were among the initiators of the unification of the NRS and the local committees of the Serbian Chetnik Movement into the Serbian Radical Party [SRS].

What he could be proud of, as a politician, and what he could be afraid of: In a very short time, he convincingly became the strongest "number two man" in Serbian politics, refuting the allegation that all Serbian parties have only one leader each and nothing more. The fact that the loquacious Vojislav Seselj is the inviolable leader of the SRS has not kept Nikolic from fighting for his current, recognizable role as strong number two man in the ranks of that party. Some even think that he is so strong that this should worry him. Nor is it possible to rule out the possibility that one day he will unexpectedly reveal that he is ripe for "self-determination to secession."

What prompted his involvement in politics: Mostly the possibility of trading in the malicious "Toma Grobar" nickname for the sonorous "Toma Vojvoda" [Tom the Duke]. Under orders from Vojislav Seselj, he was promoted to chetnik duke, and also proclaimed and anointed in May of last year in Knezina na Romaniji. Under another decree by V. Seselj, also last year, he was appointed the Radicals' shadow prime minister. At that time he said: "The situation is changing in our favor every day." In the meantime, despite this optimism, "Toma Vojvoda" has not become Serbian prime minister, nor has Serbia become a duchy. Instead, he has remained the people's deputy with the most public warnings about "verbal offenses."

What he is accused of: Being responsible for a sizable increase in the cost of Assembly sessions, since it was because of him that members of a special police detachment who threw him out of the hall have since recently been on the Assembly payroll.

What his political program is: Serbhood in a hundred poses, all of which is compressed into one phrase: "There is no bargaining with Serb lands" (previously graves). "I believe that Milosevic will sell out the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina]. That was not his idea when we entered the war. If it had been, we certainly would not have supported him."

What his program was at the Municipal Enterprise in Kragujevac: "I have discontinued the resale of graves. I consider that business dishonorable. When such a contract ends up on my desk, I call up the grandchild who is selling his grandfather's grave. I attack him: 'Aren't you ashamed to be selling your grandfather's grave?' And you see, they become ashamed and abandon the sale. But if he will not pay, or has no money, then we maintain that grave at our expense."

What he insists on most of all today: On the fact that the Radicals and Socialists have never had a great love affair. To those who remind him that there was in fact love, and a great deal of it, he usually responds: "We taught them (the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]) patriotism. They entered this war after us. We have never held power with them, and we have not cooperated with them in various corruption affairs." And if someone insists on the point, then he admits that the love with the Socialists fell apart over the Vance-Owen plan.

What he has discovered by reading books: "I have long held the opinion that the SPS is spreading national socialism. When they accused us of being a fascist party, I opened up my books and confirmed this idea of mine. I found out exactly what the ideology of national socialism is and established that it is being implemented through the work of the SPS."

What lies ahead for him: More schooling. It is said that Seselj has ordered him to get some graduate degree as soon as possible (even if it is in Pristina).

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